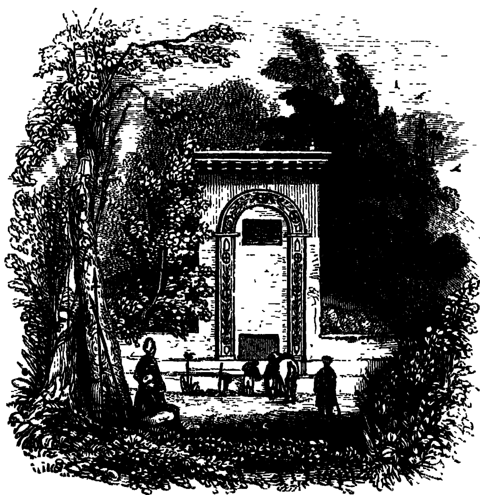
# BARBARY STATES.



FOUNTAIN NEAR ALGIERS.

OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH.

# HISTORY

AND

# PRESENT CONDITION

OF

# THE BARBARY STATES:

COMPREHENDING A VIEW OF

THEIR CIVIL INSTITUTIONS, ANTIQUITIES, ARTS, RELIGION, LITERATURE, COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, AND NATURAL PRODUCTIONS.

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WITH A MAP, AND ELEVEN ENGRAVINGS BY JACKSON.

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# PREFACE.

THIS Volume completes the plan, originally formed by the Publishers of the EDINBURGH CABINET LIBRARY, for illustrating the History, the Antiquities, and the Present Condition of Africa.

In the first instance, they drew the attention of their readers to the progress of Discovery in that vast continent; describing the natural features of its several kingdoms, the social state of its people, and thereby bringing into one view all that appeared valuable in the observations of those travellers, whether in ancient or modern times, who have sought to explore the remote recesses of its interior. They next made it their endeavour to collect, within a narrow compass, all that is known respecting Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia,—those countries so full of interest to the scholar and the antiquary, and which are universally acknowledged to have been the cradle of the arts, so far as the elements of these were communicated to the inhabitants of Europe.

The Work now presented to the Public has for its object an historical outline of those remarkable provinces which stretch along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, during the successive periods when they were occupied by the Phœnicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabs, and the Moors; as well as a delineation of their condition since they acknowledged the dominion of the Porte.

No one who has read the annals of Carthage can be ignorant of the importance once attached to this singular country; in which was first exhibited to the eye of European nations the immense political power that may be derived from an improved agriculture, an active commerce, and the command of the sea. In the plains of Tunis, too, were fought those battles which confirmed the ascendency of Rome, and laid the foundations of that colossal empire, whose territory extended from the Danube to the Atlas Mountains, and from the German Ocean to the banks of the Euphrates. The gigantic conflict between the two greatest republics of the ancient world was at length determined among the burning sands of Numidia, or on those shores, which, for many centuries, have been strangers to the civilisation and arts diffused around their camps by these mighty rivals for universal sovereignty.

Nor are the kingdoms of Northern Africa less interesting in an ecclesiastical point of view. The names of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustin, reflect honour on the churches of that land; and their works are still esteemed as part of those authentic records whence the divine derives his knowledge of the doctrines, the usages, and institutions of primitive Christianity. With relation to the same object, the inroad of the schismatical Vandals, and the conquest effected by the Arabs, present subjects worthy of the deepest reflection, inasmuch as they led to the gradual deterioration of the orthodox faith, till it was entirely superseded by the imposture of Mohammed. On these heads the reader will find some important details in the Chapter on the Religion and Literature of the Barbary States.

The writings of recent travellers have thrown a fascinating light over some parts of the ancient Cyrenaica,—a section of the Tripoline territory, which, having enjoyed the benefit of Grecian learning at an early period, still displays the remains of architectural skill and elegance, borrowed from the inhabitants of Athens and Sparta. The position of the several towns composing the celebrated Pentapolis, the beauty of the landscape, the fertility of the soil, and the magnificence of the principal edifices, have been, in the course of a few years, not only illustrated with much talent, but ascertained with a degree of accuracy that removes all reasonable doubt. The conjectures of Bruce are confirmed, or refuted, by the actual delineations of Beechey and Della Cella.

The modern history of Barbary is chiefly interesting from the relations which so long subsisted between its rulers and the maritime states of Europe, who, in order to protect their commerce from violence, and their subjects from captivity, found it occasionally expedient to enter into treaty with the lieutenants of the Ottoman government. The wars which, from time to time, were waged against the rovers of Tunis, Sallee, and Algiers, from the days of the Emperor Charles the Fifth down to the late invasion by the French, are full of incident and adventure; presenting, in the most vivid colours, the triumph of educated man over the rude strength of the barbarian, coupled with the inefficacy of all negotiation which rested on national faith or honour. The records of piracy, which, not many years ago, filled the whole of Christendom with terror and indignation, may now be perused with feelings of com-

placency, arising from the conviction that the power of the marauders has been broken, and their ravages finally checked. Algiers, after striking its flag to the fleets of Britain, was compelled to obey the soldiers of France,—an event that may be said to constitute a new era in the policy of the Moors, and seems to hold forth a prospect, however indistinct, of civilisation, industry, and the dominion of law over brutal force and passion, being again established throughout the fine provinces which extend from Cape Spartel to the Gulf of Bomba.

The Chapter on the Commerce of the Barbary States indicates, at least, the sources of wealth which, under an enlightened rule, might be rendered available, not only for the advantage of the natives, but also of the trading communities on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean. Every where, in the soil, in the climate, and in the situation of the country, are seen scattered, with a liberal hand, the elements of prosperity; and it is manifest that the plains, which were once esteemed the granary of Rome, might again, with the aid of modern science, be rendered extremely productive in the luxuries, as well as the necessaries, of human life.

The assiduity of French writers, since the conquest of Algiers, has afforded the means of becoming better acquainted than formerly with the geology of Northern Africa, as well as with several other branches of Natural History. From the same source have been derived materials for the embellishments introduced into this volume, and also for improving the Map, which the reader will find prefixed.

EDINBURGH, *March* 16, 1835.

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# HISTORY

AND

# PRESENT CONDITION

OF

# THE BARBARY STATES.

## CHAPTER I.

*Ancient History.*

Contrast between the present and ancient Condition of the Barbary States—View of ancient Manners—Remains of former Magnificence—Revolutions in that Country at once sudden and entire—Countries comprehended in Barbary—Division, according to Herodotus—Origin of the Term Barbary—Opinion of Leo Africanus—Emigrants from Asia and Arabia—Monuments which denote an Eastern People—Colonies from Tyre—Foundation of Carthage—Supposed Extent of her Territory—Remark of Polybius—Carthaginians encouraged Agriculture—Various Tribes subject to Carthage, or in Alliance with her—The History of Carthage for a long Time includes that of all the Barbary States—First Attempt on Sicily and Sardinia—Ambitious Views of the Carthaginians—Provoke the Resentment of Alexander the Great—First Punic War—Carthage besieged—Second Punic War—Character of Hannibal—Scipio invades the Carthaginian Territory—Hannibal recalled—Is defeated at Zama—Third Punic War—Fall of Carthage—History of Jugurtha—Subdued by the Romans—Marius and Sylla—Pompey and Cæsar—Conclusion.

In entering upon a description of the Barbary States, the mind naturally turns, in the first instance, to a comparison of their actual condition,

morally and politically considered, with the civilisation to which they formerly attained under more enlightened governors. The contrast thus presented is rendered still more striking by a reference to the literature and science of Europe, of which the elements were in many cases derived from the northern shores of Africa; as well when the Phœnicians extended their power to the Pillars of Hercules, as when the lieutenants of the Caliph exercised authority over the mixed tribes who were compelled to acknowledge their dominion.

Nowhere, indeed, is the effect of wise institutions more clearly distinguished than at the point whence the philosophical eye marks the difference which prevails on the opposite sides of the Mediterranean. From the mountains of Spain the spectator may comprehend, at one glance, the abode of nations which, though in geographical position not farther distant than a voyage of a few hours, are nevertheless, in respect of religion, learning, and all the arts and feelings of social life, removed from one another by the lapse of many centuries. In passing the narrow channel which separates these two quarters of the globe, the traveller finds himself carried back to the manners and habits of ages long past, and witnesses, as it were, a revival of scenes which must have attracted the notice of the earliest historians of the human race. On the one hand, he beholds an order of men who, like the patriarchs of Arabia, are still engaged with the occupations of the pastoral state, living in tents, and sustaining themselves on the produce of their flocks. On the other, he may see a community devoting their cares to the pursuits of traffic, and, like the ancient Ish-

maelites, carrying the commodities of foreign lands across their wide deserts; thereby connecting in the bonds of commercial intercourse the remotest nations of the Old World. In a third section of Northern Africa his attention will be drawn to numerous tribes who, adopting partially the usages of both the other classes, refuse to abide by either; but, like the descendants of Esau, with their hands lifted against every man who crosses their path, esteem it their highest honour to impose tribute and enrich themselves on spoil.

Nor is the contrast less remarkable, when the present aspect of the country is compared with the magnificence and cultivation which adorned it during several ages. In no other region of the earth has the flood of time committed ravages so extensive and deplorable, obliterating nearly all the traces of improvement, and throwing down the noblest works of art. Amidst the sand, accordingly, which covers the remains of ancient towns, are to be seen the finest specimens of architectural skill, mingled with the relics of a taste and luxury which distinguished the later years of the Roman empire. The fields, which once bore the most abundant crops, are now either deformed by the encroachments of the Desert, or overgrown with useless weeds and poisonous shrubs; while baths, porticos, bridges, theatres, and triumphal arches, have mouldered into ruins, or sunk under the hands of the barbarous inhabitants.

No people, once civilized, retain so few marks of having risen above savage life as the present Moors and Arabs of Barbary. All other nations, however depressed with regard to power, wealth, and science, continue to exhibit some proofs of their former great-

ness, and to vindicate, at least by their recollections and desires, the rank which their ancestors enjoyed in ancient times. The Jews, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, though now little more than the nominal representatives of distinguished empires, cherish the memory of what they were; extol the exploits of their fathers, and admire their works; hoping even to restore their fortunes and to emulate their fame in a more auspicious age. But the rude tribes of Africa are strangers to all such ennobling sentiments. They know not that their country was one of the first seats of government and commerce, and took the lead, at an early period, in all the attainments which exalt human nature, and confer the highest blessings on society. They forget that Carthage held long suspended between herself and Rome the scales of universal dominion; that her provinces were opulent and enlightened; that she could boast of renowned sages and learned fathers of the church; and that some of her towns were on a footing of equality with the most celebrated in antiquity. Ignorant, moreover, of the history of those monuments which still give an interest to their wild shores and dreary plains, they even make haste to deface every thing whereon ingenuity has been lavished, and to remove every token which might serve as an evidence that men more polished than themselves had occupied their cities or ploughed their fields.

These facts will appear less inexplicable, when it is called to mind that the revolutions in Barbary have, for the most part, been not only sudden and complete, but that, being brought about by nations who had very little in common with those which

they subdued, an entire change was introduced as often as new masters assumed the government. The Saracens, for example, who marched under the banners of Mohammed, had no respect for the institutions of the Romans, whether conveyed thither from Italy or from the shores of the Ægean Sea. On the contrary, those fierce warriors felt themselves impelled by religious zeal to root out whatever had been planted by Christians,—to demolish the edifices in which they had worshipped,—to destroy the emblems of their faith,—and to treat with scorn every usage which could be traced to the hated Nazarenes. The barbarians who humbled the European portion of the empire, yielded their reverence, and even their belief, to the magnificent and imposing ritual of the Church. Their own tenets were so ill defined, and rested on principles so extremely vague, that they were easily capable of amalgamating with any other system which simply recognised the doctrine of a Divine Providence, and the sanctions of a future state, as the reward of the good and the punishment of the guilty. But the disciples of the Koran were not allowed to make terms with the professors of any rival creed. An acknowledgment of their prophet, as an inspired messenger sent by Heaven, was ever held as a condition quite indispensable to the enjoyment of security, and even of those ordinary privileges in life, without which man may be said to forfeit all the advantages of associating with his fellow-creatures. Hence the irruption of the Arabian host produced, on the face of Upper Africa, effects hardly less violent and universal than if a second deluge had swept over it. The past could not have been more profoundly forgotten, and the

labours of former generations could scarcely have more entirely disappeared.

The countries included under the general description of Barbary, and of which it is our intention in the present work to give an account, may be conveniently understood as extending from the Desert of Barca on the east to Cape Nun on the west; a space which comprehends the Cyrenaica, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, and embraces more than 2000 miles of coast. It is true that the first of the districts now specified is not usually attached to the Barbary States, being more closely connected with Egypt, both by its historical relations and its natural affinity. But as the celebrated towns, composing the Pentapolis of ancient authors, were not described in our volume on the kingdom of the Pharaohs, we have thought it expedient to introduce them here, in order that we may fully complete our undertaking, and lay before the readers of the Cabinet Library all that is known respecting the great continent of Africa. The breadth of the territory which thus falls under our notice varies very much at different parts, according to the proximity of the sandy waste by which it is bounded on the south; and this uncertainty is still farther increased by the occasional movements of the Sahara itself, which, so far from being permanently fixed, is found from time to time invading the cultivated lands.

According to Herodotus, the north of Africa is divided into three regions, which he distinguishes into *inhabited land*, the *wild-beast country*, and the *desert;* an arrangement strictly corresponding to the modern classification of Barbary, properly so called; the Blaid el Jerid, or region of dates; and

the Sahara. The first section contains Mauritania, Numidia, the territory of Carthage, Cyrenaica, and Marmarica; that is, the northern parts of the present kingdoms of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca. It was not without reason that the father of history conferred upon this extensive tract the epithet of habitable; for, though at certain parts its continuity is broken by the approach of the sands, it is, generally speaking, uncommonly productive. By the Romans, indeed, it was, next to Egypt, esteemed their granary; and its abundant returns long enabled the Carthaginians to maintain armies able to cope with the conquerors of Europe.

Beyond this favoured region a chain of mountains runs across the continent, beginning at the shores of the Atlantic, and reaching the boundaries of Egypt. The whole line, it is true, has not been examined by recent travellers; but the opinions of the ablest geographers favour the conclusion that, though it occasionally sinks to the level of the Desert, the range may be distinctly traced from the neighbourhood of the Nile to the Western Ocean. Its loftiest and broadest part, bearing the name of Atlas, occupies the southern provinces of Morocco and Algiers; and in this vicinity, where water abounds, there are many wild beasts,—the ground of the distinction attributed to it by Herodotus. The later Greek and Roman writers called it Getulia; and it is celebrated by their poets as the native haunt of savage animals. By the Arabs, however, as already suggested, it is named the Land of Dates, from the vast quantity of that fruit which grows there, and which constitutes an article of food and of commerce extremely important to the various tribes who fre-

quent its borders. The whole region comprises the southern side of Atlas, together with the territory lying near it, extending as far as the Great Desert, between the 26th and 30th degrees of north latitude.*

This country, which is fertile only in those places where water is found, loses itself by degrees in the Sahara, the desert of Herodotus. Like the hills just mentioned, this barren tract occupies the entire breadth of Africa, and even stretches through Arabia and Persia into the provinces of Northern India. The width of the sandy belt is not every where the same; the greatest being in the western parts, between Morocco and the Negro Country, and the narrowest between the present states of Tripoli and Kassina, where also the oases,—those fruitful patches of well-watered ground,—occur most frequently in the path of the caravans. It becomes again much broader as it approaches Egypt; and, finally, forms a junction with the wilderness of Nubia, and thence,

* Every classical scholar will call to mind the poetical description which Virgil has given of Mount Atlas:

—" Iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
Atlantis duri, cœlum qui vertice fulcit:
Atlantis, cinctum assiduè cui nubibus atris
Piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri:
Nix humeros infusa tegit: tum flumina mento
Præcipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba."
ÆNEIDOS, lib. iv.

" Thus arm'd, the god begins his airy race,
And drives the racking clouds along the liquid space;
Now sees the top of Atlas as he flies,
Whose brawny back supports the starry skies—
Atlas, whose head, with piny forests crown'd,
Is beaten by the winds—with foggy vapours bound:
Snows hide his shoulders: from beneath his chin
The founts of rolling streams their race begin:
A beard of ice on his large breast depends," &c.—DRYDEN.

it is probable, with the central portion of the African continent.*

The origin of the term Barbary is lost, as well in the obscurity of the original language as in the fanciful hypotheses which have been framed to illustrate its meaning and application. Leo Africanus has recorded certain opinions entertained on this subject by those who wrote before his days, adding his own reflections, of which it may not be deemed severe to remark, that they tend not in the slightest degree to remove the darkness wherewith he found the inquiry enveloped. According to his authorities, the word *Ber* signifies a desert, while others, on the contrary, maintain that it denotes a rich soil; the duplication of the term, *Berber*, conveying the happy discovery that the land along the coast appeared unusually fertile, more especially to eyes fatigued with the bare and monotonous aspect of the wilderness.†

Little aid can be derived from the classical authors, who took more delight in gratifying their imaginations than in storing their minds with knowledge. To them Africa appeared much in the same light as India and China did to the writers of the middle ages; and, while they crowded it with wonders of magnificence and splendour, they introduced into it all the monstrous and most terrific productions of nature. A tradition had reached the

* Heeren's Historical Researches, vol. i. p. 7. Herodotus, book ii. c. 32, and book iv. c. 81.

† Hujus subfusci coloris incolæ appellati sunt nomine Barbar, a verbo Barbara quod eorum idiomate idem sonat quod Latinis murmuro: eò quòd Africanus sermo Arabibus non aliter sonet quam beluarum vox, quæ nullo accentu suas edunt vociferationes. Alii volunt Barbar nomen replicatum esse, eo quod Bar lingua Arabica desertum denotet.—Africæ Descrip. lib. prim. p. 12.

ears of Sallust, the historian, that a mixed horde of Asiatics, led by the fabled hero Hercules, after advancing to the western shores of Spain and losing their chief, sought employment for their arms in Africa; where, it was supposed, they finally incorporated with the natives, and assumed a new name. The Persians, it is said, upon landing on the desolate shore, inverted their barks and used them for dwellings; supplying, as the annalist suggests, a pattern for the Numidian cottages, even as they existed in his own days.*

Procopius has pledged his credit for the truth of a legend still more ancient than the one now quoted, and assures his readers that, in the time of the war with the Vandals, when he accompanied the great Belisarius into Africa in quality of secretary, there were yet to be seen, near a fountain at Tangier, two columns of white stone, whereon were inscribed, in the Phœnician tongue, the following words:—"We fly from the robber Joshua, the son of Nun." Whatever accuracy there may be in this statement, there is no doubt that the northern parts of the African continent must have been peopled by emigrants from Asia. If any confidence can be placed in those traditionary records which descend from father to son, and constitute the history of all barbarous nations, it must be believed that successive multitudes, armed and unarmed, sought in the less populous countries which stretch out on either side of the Mediterranean a refuge from the tyranny of Asiatic conquerors. The Moors narrate that their origin may be traced to Sabæa, a district of Arabia, whence their an-

* Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. c. 18.—Iique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere.

cestors, under their king Ifricki, were expelled by a superior force, and reduced to the necessity of seeking a new home in the remote regions of the West. This inroad, which could not be accomplished without violence, drove the older inhabitants from the vicinity of the coast into the less fertile tracts that border on the Desert; where they appear to have provided for their defence by forming caves in the mountains, as well as by erecting fortresses in strong passes and ravines. Even at the present day, there are found in Southern Numidia the remains of towns and castles, which present an air of very great antiquity. The Arabs, disdaining the protection of walls and the restraint of a stationary life, carried into Africa their wonted habits; preferring the moveable tent to the "city which hath foundations," and watching their numerous flocks over unlimited pastures, rather than submitting to the drudgery of agriculture or of manufactures. The earlier inhabitants appear to have been less erratic in their mode of life, and, like the Egyptians, with whom, it is not improbable, they were connected, fond of excavating dwellings in the rocks, and of erecting lofty structures for ornament or safety. Hence the ruins, to which allusion has just been made, in the interior of Morocco, and which must owe their origin to a people different from the Sabæans, who are supposed to have expelled them from their seats.*

Whoever were the original possessors of Africa, it is confirmed by the general voice of history that the Phœnicians, about 900 years before the Christian era, founded a variety of colonies along its

* Procop. de Bello Vandal. lib. ii. p. 37. Morgan's Complete History of Algiers, p. 9.

shores. The narrow territory on the Asiatic coast originally occupied by this enterprising people, who had already carried their trade to all parts of the known world, soon suggested the expediency of removing the superabundant population to less crowded countries. Political broils on many occasions produced the same effect; sending the disaffected from the parent state to seek an asylum in remote regions, where their opinions could not be so strictly watched, and where their impatient spirits would be freed from the control of an imperious master. But other motives, unconnected either with commerce or civil liberty, might also operate in withdrawing inhabitants from the Phœnician monarchy. Carthage, the most powerful of their settlements, according to a tradition, the truth of which there is no reason to question, owed its origin to the crime of a king of Tyre, who, urged by avarice or ambition, murdered his brother-in-law, the priest of Melcarth, their national god. Many of the citizens, offended and alarmed by this atrocity, resolved to leave their native land; and placing themselves under Elissa, the widow of the murdered prince, they put to sea, and directed their course towards Africa. They disembarked in the bay in which Tuneta and Utica were already built; and fixing on a narrow promontory which runs out into the sea, they agreed to pay for it a price, or perhaps an annual tribute, to the Libyans, who claimed the property of the soil. Here they erected a place of defence, to which they gave the name of Betzura, the fort or stronghold, but which the Greeks, according to their usual practice, changed into Byrsa, a term referable to their own tongue; and as this word, so interpreted, de-

notes the skin of a bullock, they invented the popular tale, describing how the Tyrians imposed upon the unsuspecting savages in the bargain for their first possession. Appian gravely remarks, that the Africans laughed at the folly of Dido, who begged only for so small a quantity of land as she could cover with the hide of an ox, but much admired the subtlety of her contrivance in cutting it into thongs.*

Virgil, using the privilege of a poet, has raised upon the facts now stated a beautiful fiction, which, like the Paradise Lost of the great Milton, conveys a commentary so striking as to supersede, in ardent minds, all recollection of the more scanty record which it was meant to illustrate. Regardless of dates, he connects the voyage of Æneas, after the fall of Troy, with the expedition of the Tyrian princess to the coast of Libya, and thereby interests his reader in the early fates of those two proud commonwealths, whose mutual strife so long agitated the shores of the Mediterranean, and dyed its waves with blood. The accuracy with which the bay of Carthage is described may justify a quotation, which, though not comparable to the splendid original, will communicate at least a topographical outline of the scene:—

* Appian in Lybicis.

The word Betzura, Bitzra, or Bozrah, is of Hebrew etymology, and signifies a fort or castle. It is the name of the Idumean capital, the chief town in the country of Edom.—Morgan, p. 10.

The legend of the ox-hide seems to have gone round the world. Hussun Subah, the chief of the Assassins, is said to have acquired in the same manner the hill-fort of Allahamowt. The Persians maintain that the British got Calcutta in the same way. An English tradition avers that it was by a similar trick Hengist and Horsa got a settlement in the Isle of Thanet; and it is somewhere stated, that this was the mode by which one of our colonies in America obtained their land of the Indians.—Foreign Quarterly Review, No. xxvii. p. 213.

"Within a long recess there lies a bay:
An island shades it from the rolling sea,
And forms a port secure for ships to ride:
Broke by the jutting land on either side,
In double streams the briny waters glide:
Betwixt two rows of rocks: a sylvan scene
Appears above, and groves for ever green:
A grot is form'd beneath, with mossy seats,
To rest the Nereïds, and exclude the heats,
Down through the crannies of the living walls,
The crystal streams descend in murm'ring falls.
No halsers need to bind the vessels here,
Nor bearded anchors; for no storms they fear."*

It has been remarked, that Carthage was from the beginning an independent state, after the model of the trading towns which were planted along the Phœnician coast. Tyre and her colony, without claiming dominion or acknowledging subjection, observed towards one another that mutual regard, which, in those early times, was expected between communities sprung from the same root. The former, as Herodotus observes, constantly refused to Cambyses the use of her fleet, whenever he wished to attack Carthage; and the latter granted a place of refuge to the inhabitants of Tyre, when that city was besieged by Alexander the Great. She likewise continued a long time towards her neighbours the pacific policy which her original condition rendered expedient. Built on the margin of an extensive continent, peopled by fierce and lawless tribes, she endeavoured to maintain a good understanding with the original nations that occupied the adjoining territory; and it is said that the rent which she consented to pay to the lords of the soil was continued till the days of Darius Hystaspes. There are,

* Dryden's translation of the Æneid, book i. line 228, &c.
"Est in secessu longo locus; insulę portum
Efficit objectu laterum," &c.

no doubt, in the earliest history of her citizens, unquestionable proofs that she departed from this amicable policy as soon as she found herself sufficiently strong to dispute the pretensions of the Libyan princes, and even had recourse to arms, in order to vindicate her independence, or to extend her borders. Opposed to uncivilized hordes, the Carthaginian generals usually found their efforts crowned with success; though it is admitted that, by their conquests, they only obtained subjects who embraced every opportunity to throw off their yoke.

No records are left which might enable the historian at this distant period to determine the extent to which they carried their triumphs over the natives, or what were the conditions proposed to the vanquished as the vassals of this rising republic. Those who imagine that they subdued all Barbary, or indeed any very considerable part of it, are chargeable with a great mistake; though some writers have gone so far as to assert that the whole of Northern Africa submitted to their sway, and that the Mauritanian princes had consented to receive their diadems from the senate of Carthage. The Latin authors, however, do not warrant the conclusion that they were at any time masters of more land than that which constituted the province usually associated with their name, together with the principal harbours between the eastern confines of Tripoli and the shores of the Atlantic. There is besides good reason to infer, that in ordinary circumstances their authority did not extend much beyond the walls of their seaport towns, especially of those which, more with the view of pursuing commerce than of enlarging their dominions, or of establish-

ing political power, they had been permitted to erect within the boundaries of Numidia.*

The writings of Polybius afford the most authentic information that can now be obtained respecting the territorial possessions of Carthage at the time when she first began to attract the attention of Europe. Speaking of the Africans who fought in her armies, he always makes a distinction between her proper subjects and the free people who served for pay. The former he universally calls Libyans, never applying to them any more particular or characteristic appellation; while on the mercenaries he confers the epithet of Nomades or Numidians,—a title which suited a great variety of tribes who followed the same wandering mode of life, inherited, it is probable, from their Arabian ancestors. These roving clans acknowledged no master,—thinking that they humbled themselves sufficiently when they condescended to use their arms for a stated recompense, under the banner of their allies. The others, who practised husbandry, having settled abodes and a fixed property, consented to purchase protection by surrendering their precarious freedom, as well as by agreeing to pay an annual tax levied upon the produce of their lands. It is, accordingly, observed by the historian just cited, that the tribute imposed on the Libyans was for the most part paid in grain; and, as has been already stated, it was principally with the produce of their industry that the Carthaginians were enabled to maintain those numerous armies with which they made their conquests in foreign countries.

* Heeren's Reflections on the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Ancient Nations of Africa, p. 53, &c.

It would appear that these Libyans were indebted to the Tyrian colonists for the important knowledge of agriculture, which in all ages has proved the main source of civilisation and social improvement. In the time of Herodotus, the most flourishing era of the Carthaginian state, no people who cultivated land was to be found beyond the limits of their territory; all the native tribes between Egypt and the Lesser Syrtis being still in the more primitive condition of shepherds, removing from place to place over the wide surface of the Desert. But immediately to the westward, he remarks, "we find nations who till the ground." Of these he specifies three,—the Maxyes, the Zaucees, and the Zygantes, —all of whom appear to have been very recently reclaimed from the rudest habits of savage life, as they still continued to cut their hair in the most fantastical manner, and to paint their bodies with vermilion. The Maxyes, to whom these remarks principally apply, pretended that they were sprung from the Trojans. Their country, we are farther told, and indeed all the western parts of Libya, is much more woody and infested with wild beasts than that where the Nomades reside; for the abode of these latter, in proportion as it stretches to the eastward, becomes more low and sandy. From hence, continues Herodotus, towards the west, where those dwell who plough the land, the region is mountainous, full of trees, and abounding with wild beasts. Here are found serpents of an enormous size, lions, elephants, bears, asps, and asses with horns.*

This author, who did not travel in the western districts of Africa, must have received the materials

* Herodot. Melpomene, c. 186-193.

of that part of his history which has now been quoted from native writers, to whose authority, indeed, he occasionally refers. There can be no doubt, however, that there were, in the vicinity of the Atlas range, many tribes whose names had not reached him, and who, from time to time, appear in the muster-roll of the Carthaginian army. Some notion of their numbers may be formed from the fact mentioned by Polybius, that, in the unfortunate war which the republic waged with her mercenary troops, after the termination of her first conflict with Rome, no fewer than 70,000 of them were in the field.*

To prevent such insurrections, which threatened the stability of their power, the rulers of the commonwealth encouraged the settlement of small colonies of citizens among the agricultural nations on their southern frontier. Adopting in this respect the policy of their European rivals, they endeavoured to gain the support of their neighbours, by extending to them the benefit of their institutions and the honour of their kindred. This expedient gave rise to a distinction in the African race, which is marked in history as the Liby-Phœnician,—a class who differed from the original inhabitants of the country, of which they are said to have occupied the richest and most fruitful parts. This circumstance has not escaped the notice of Aristotle, who describes it as the surest method for retaining the good-will of the people; as it prevented the too great increase of the lower orders in the capital, and, by a proper distribution of lands, placed the poorer citizens in better circumstances. In this way, says he, Carthage,

* Polyb. lib. i. c. 6.

preserved the love of her subjects. She continually sends out colonies of the townsmen into the districts around her, and thereby makes them men of property; the best proof of a mild and intelligent government, who assist the poor by inuring them to labour.*

During several centuries, the history of Carthage comprehended that of the whole of Northern Africa, the scanty remains of which can now only be gleaned from the volumes of the Greek and Latin authors. It is much to be regretted that all the works of native writers have perished; having fallen a prey to various accidents, as well perhaps as to the neglect of their haughty conquerors, who had no desire that the gallant efforts of a falling state should be recorded by any less partial pen than their own. In the days of Sallust, several records were still in existence, from which he drew some of the facts which he has incorporated in his Life of Jugurtha;* but the ruin of the noble family to whom they belonged gave occasion to their loss, which has since proved irretrievable. We learn, however, from the annals of Josephus, as well as from a few incidental notices in the Sacred Scriptures, that, about 600 years before the Christian era, the Carthaginians had attained to such a degree of power as to brave the resentment of the King of Babylon. This monarch, as has been already mentioned, laid siege to Tyre, which, after thirteen years' labour, he reduced to submission; but he did not accomplish his object without encountering the arms of the African colonists, who sent both sea and land forces to assist their mother-country.†

* Arist. Polit. lib. ii. c. 11.
† Joseph. Cont. Apion. lib. i. Ezekiel, chapters xxvi. xxvii.

After the lapse of half a century, the people of Carthage, who, like the nation whence they sprang, knew the value of commerce, endeavoured to establish their authority in the islands of the Mediterranean. Their first attempts on Sicily and Sardinia were attended with so little success, that a disturbance was excited between those who planned the war and the leaders who were appointed to conduct it. But the object appeared, in the eyes of the senate, to possess so much importance, that new efforts were made, and larger armies were raised, in order to bring it to a favourable issue. It is related by Diodorus Siculus, that, in the year of Rome 280, Amilcar, at the head of 300,000 men, invaded Sicily, carrying with him 2000 ships of war, and a greater number of transports. These immense preparations, however, did not secure a more fortunate result. Losses at sea were succeeded by more serious disasters on shore; and Gelo, the sovereign of the island, adding stratagem to force, overcame the Carthaginian commander, and dispersed his mighty host. But fifty years had not passed when a similar expedition was fitted out under Hamilco, who, though his operations in the field of battle were attended with greater prosperity, did not in the end accomplish more for the commonwealth whose sword he drew. Dionysius, who was obliged to surrender his capital to the invaders, soon saw his cause aveng-

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xxviii. xxix. The details given by the prophet in the 27th chapter throw more light on the trade of Tyre than can now be obtained from any other author. Sallust (Jugurth. c. 17) writes as follows:—"Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint, tamen uti ex libris Punicis, qui Regis Hiempsalis dicebantur interpretatum nobis est; utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quam paucissimis dicam."

ed by the ravages of a pestilence, which cut off their general, with a large proportion of his followers.

These reverses did not dishearten the rulers of Carthage, who, in the mean while, were gradually extending their influence along the shores of Africa, and on the opposite coast of Spain. Their commerce, too, had already become so flourishing as to afford the means of enlisting, not only the warlike tribes of their own deserts, but also Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians, Sardinians, and Corsicans. With these forces, they in process of time found themselves masters of most of the Mediterranean islands, and at length attracted the notice of the Romans, whose dominion began to be felt at the extreme parts of Italy. If we yield to the authority of Polybius, we must admit that the consular government, a hundred years earlier, had solicited the friendship of the Carthaginians; but, whatever may be thought of his statement, it seems perfectly clear that, about three centuries and a half before the reign of Augustus, a treaty was formed between the two republics.

This was, indeed, the age of freedom and vigour to both, though it cannot be averred that the generosity of either kept pace with their advancement in national strength and public liberty. It has been justly remarked, that those communities which are the most free are also the most subject to violent passions and hasty resolves; and we find, accordingly, that the Carthaginians were not slow to employ their arms wherever they imagined they had an injury to punish or an advantage to gain. For example, they had already enslaved the people of Bœtica, a Spanish province, whose privileges were

not saved by their courage; and they had formed an alliance with Xerxes, and lost a battle against Gelo, the same day that the Lacedæmonians fell at Thermopylæ. They had tried the fortune of war, too, with Agathocles in Africa, and Pyrrhus in Sicily, before they came to blows with their more formidable antagonists on the banks of the Tiber.

No other event of great importance occurred prior to the first Punic war, if we except the attempt made to relieve Tyre when about to be finally overthrown by Alexander the Macedonian. That ambitious prince, irritated by the interference of a maritime power whose territory he had not yet menaced, resolved to inflict on them a signal chastisement; but his thoughts being diverted to other objects, he allowed them to enjoy an exemption from the fate which he had prepared for their kinsmen in the East. It was reserved for the Romans to impose a check upon the growing influence and prosperity of these Tyrian colonists.

The ostensible cause of quarrel was an armed interposition on the part of the Carthaginians, in behalf of Hiero, king of Syracuse, against the Mamertines, who were allies of Rome. It belongs not to our undertaking to describe the battles by sea and land, the sieges and negotiations, which filled up the long space of twenty-four years. Suffice it to mention, that Regulus, who commanded the Romans, having reduced Tunis, appeared before the gates of the capital, and summoned it to surrender. The citizens, alarmed at the rapid progress of the enemy, solicited peace on equitable terms; but the victor, eager to accomplish the entire conquest of

their country, insisted on such conditions as determined them to continue the war. At this crisis of their affairs, relief was brought to them by a Lacedæmonian captain, named Xantippus, who engaged the conquerors under the walls of Tunis, destroyed their legions, and took the proconsul prisoner. Regulus was conducted as a captive into the city which he had hoped to enter in triumph, and is said to have been exposed to much indignity as well as to great bodily suffering. But no degree of torture or reproach could overcome his patriotism; for, upon consenting to accompany the Carthaginian ambassadors to Rome, he exhorted the senate to refuse peace, and even to prosecute hostilities with increased vigour. His counsel was adopted, though at the expense of his life, and finally enabled his countrymen to conclude a more advantageous treaty with their humbled foes.

The interval of peace with her European rivals was not altogether a period of tranquillity to Carthage. The Numidians, taking advantage of her weakness, endeavoured to limit her pretensions in Africa, and to recover the independence which they had gradually forfeited during the growing ascendency of her power. She soon found it necessary, moreover, to renew the struggle in Sicily, and to engage in a war with the sovereign of that island, which, Livy informs us, lasted five years. The Romans, who had long relinquished the moderation which guided their proceedings in the infancy of their commonwealth, perceived that an opportunity was thereby presented to them for obtaining possession of Sardinia,—an acquisition which appeared in their eyes so much the more valuable, that the

people with whom they now found themselves doomed to contend for empire still retained several important settlements in the adjoining seas. Under some frivolous pretext, accordingly, they invaded the Carthaginian colony, and could boast that they wrested it from its legitimate owners during the subsistence of a regular treaty. The injured party, however, could not, at that moment, have recourse to the usual means of redress. They even condescended to purchase the forbearance of their insolent neighbours, and to remit money to Rome in name of tribute or compensation. But, pursuing a policy which sometimes confounded the less subtile genius of their opponents, they sought new sources of wealth in Spain, the mines of which filled their treasury with the precious metals, and enabled them to call into the field very numerous armies, and cover the sea with their fleets. Amilcar was intrusted with this important enterprise, which was afterwards so ably conducted by his renowned son Hannibal; who, by taking Saguntum, gave occasion to the second Punic war.

This celebrated leader has been esteemed by many able judges the greatest general of antiquity; and, assuredly, if he does not win more affection than any other, he excites higher admiration. He possessed neither the heroism of Alexander nor the universal genius of Cæsar; but, as a military man, he surpassed them both. In ordinary cases, it is the love of country or of glory which conducts commanders to great achievements: Hannibal alone was stimulated by hatred and the desire of revenge. Inflamed with this acrimonious spirit, he set out from the extremity of Spain with an army com-

posed of a great variety of nations; passed the Pyrenees; marched through Gaul; and arrived at the foot of the Alps. These trackless mountains, defended by fierce barbarians, were in vain opposed to his progress. He crossed their icy summits and perilous ravines, presented himself in Italy as if he had descended from the clouds, and annihilated the first consular army on the banks of the Ticinus. Following up his victory, he gained another triumph at Trebia, a third at Thrasymene, and in the fourth, which he accomplished at Cannæ, he threatened the existence of Rome itself. During sixteen years he prosecuted the war, unaided, in the heart of the enemy's country, driving the greatest generals from the field, and inspiring the legions with a degree of fear or caution which they had not known since the invasion of Pyrrhus.

To withdraw this conqueror from the Roman provinces, it was resolved to send an army into Africa. Scipio, whose reputation for urbanity, moderation, and self-restraint, has reached our own times, was appointed to the command of the expedition, with the view of realizing a plan which had originated with himself as the most likely means for subduing Hannibal. The landing was effected without any loss; for consternation had pervaded all the coast, and covered the roads with fugitives, who fled from the towns without knowing where to seek an asylum. The same alarm had extended to Carthage itself; the citizens ran to arms; the gates were shut; and the usual preparations were made to repel an assault or to withstand a siege. But Scipio was not yet in a condition to attack the capital. Having sent his fleet towards Utica, he himself

proceeded by land to the same point, where he was joined by Masinissa, the king of Numidia, with a large body of cavalry. This chief, formerly the ally of the Carthaginians, had made war against the Romans in Spain; and having, by a succession of singular events, repeatedly lost and recovered his dominions, he had once more fallen a victim to certain intrigues, and been deprived of his crown. Syphax, prince of the Getulians, who had married Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal, was put in possession of his lands,—an injustice which alienated him so much from the ruling government, that he declared himself ready to co-operate with the invaders against those tyrants of Africa.*

After some battles which terminated in his favour, Scipio invested Utica with the resolution to take it; though Asdrubal and Syphax were encamped in the vicinity. As the tents of the latter were formed of mats and reeds, after the Numidian manner, the Romans set them on fire, and thereby destroyed the lives of 40,000 men. But the Carthaginians, so far from yielding to misfortune, saw in this event only a more urgent reason for increasing their levies and encouraging the fidelity of their confederates; though they had the mortification to discover, on most occasions, that their raw troops, and the undisciplined valour of the Getulians, could not maintain their ground against the steady courage of the legions. Syphax, being united to a daughter of Carthage, would not desert the cause of that republic, convinced as he was, that its fall would crush all his hopes, and perhaps bury his sovereignty in its ruins; and accordingly, though

* Livius, lib. xxi. c. 1-54.

Scipio had repeatedly dispersed the armies opposed to him, and even made himself master of Tunis, the barbarian prince resolved once more to face the victors, and, if possible, save the capital from destruction. He entered into the combat with a bravery worthy of a better fate; and, when deserted by his soldiers in the heat of the battle, he rushed alone upon the Roman squadrons, hoping that his men, ashamed of having abandoned their king, would return and die with him. But in this expectation he was grievously disappointed; the cowards continued their flight; and, his horse being killed, he fell alive into the hands of his mortal enemy Masinissa.*

A tale of romance, affectingly told by Livy, occupies the short period which precedes the return of Hannibal to defend his native country. Sophonisba, whom the fortune of war soon afterwards threw into the same hands with her husband, was induced or compelled to become the wife of Masinissa; who, upon discovering that the virtuous and exemplary Scipio was displeased with this union, from the fear that her influence would draw him to the side of the enemy, sent her a cup of poison, in order that she might free herself from the apprehension of a still greater disgrace.†

Finding their affairs fast becoming desperate, the magistrates of Carthage sent orders to their great general to abandon Italy and hasten to their relief. Upon receiving this message he is said to have shed tears of rage, to have reproached the imbecility of

* Livius, lib. xxx. c. 11.

† Livius, lib. xxx. c. 12. The narrative begins at the 3d and continues to the end of the 12th chapter.

his government, and to have bitterly condemned himself for not marching to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. Never, it was remarked, did a man, quitting the land of his birth to go into exile, experience more profound grief than Hannibal endured when he left a foreign shore to return home. He had sailed from Africa when a boy; had been thirty-six years away; and was about to find strangers among the nearest relatives of his family. At length he disembarked on the shore of his fathers, at the head of the veterans who had followed him in Spain, Gaul, and Italy; who could show more insignia of honour, taken from prætors, generals, and consuls, than were carried before all the dignitaries of Rome: and in the city, to the protection of which he was now advancing, the temples, crowded with the spoils of her mighty enemy, were perhaps the only places he could recognise amidst the scenes of his youth.*

But the fortune of Hannibal did not accompany him into Africa. The battle of Zama decided the fate of Carthage and of the most renowned of her sons; putting an end, at the same time, to the second Punic war. The vanquished sued for peace and obtained it, but on such terms as announced their approaching humiliation; while their illustrious general, not venturing to rely on the generosity of an irritated and fickle populace, retired to Asia Minor, where he spent the remainder of his days in vain attempts to form a coalition against the Romans. Nor did he find the hatred of that people more relenting than his own. On the con-

* Chateaubriand's Travels in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Barbary, vol. ii. p. 259. Second Edition. London, 1812.

trary, the emissaries of the senate pursued him from one court to another, till he was on the point of being delivered up into their hands, when, according to the custom of his age and nation, he brought his life to a close by swallowing poison.

The events now recorded took place about 200 years before our era, according to the more common calculation. Half a century passed without any open rupture between the two republics; and the wiser statesmen at Rome had begun to perceive an advantage in having their power balanced by an active rival, whose ambition would never permit the vigilance of their government to sleep, nor their citizens to sink into a supine security, the parent of luxury and weakness. But the elder Cato, with a republican severity which made little allowance for the rights of other states, represented the destruction of Carthage as essential to the permanence and greatness of the Roman power; and his inveterate hatred at length proved triumphant. War was accordingly declared, on grounds which had in them more of personal enmity than of public wisdom; and the last struggle with the people of Dido, the noblest colony of Tyre, was forthwith begun.

The success which attended the soldiers of Italy on this occasion indicated not so much their own advancement in the military art as the failure of energy and national strength on the side of their opponents. The Carthaginians were divided by factions and paralysed by domestic broils; their allies became faithless, their fleets were not properly equipped, and their land-forces reposed no confidence in their leaders: nor was it until they discovered that the most consummate perfidy was

practised against them, that they would consent to act with unanimity for the preservation of their honour, property, and life. The consuls Marcius and Manilius, who appeared under their walls, were vigorously repulsed; and the genius of Hannibal seemed to revive in the besieged city. The women are described as having cut off their hair and twisted it into ropes for the military engines,—a degree of zeal which was rewarded with the postponement of their overthrow for several months. Emilianus Scipio, the second Africanus, served at that time in the Roman army as a tribune; and, as Masinissa was still alive, he is feigned by Cicero to have invited the youthful hero to his court, when that scene is supposed to have occurred which is so beautifully unfolded by the great orator in his "Scipio's Dream."

At a somewhat later period, this rising soldier, appointed to the consulship through the favour of the people, received orders to continue the siege of Carthage. He began by surprising the lower town, usually called Magara, and then attempted to block up the outer port by means of a mole; but the garrison opened another entrance to the harbour, and appeared at sea, to the great amazement of the enemy. It is asserted that, had not confusion pervaded the councils of the city, they might, on this occasion, have burnt the Roman fleet, and reduced the assailants to the greatest distress.

Asdrubal, who conducted the defence, at the head of 30,000 mercenaries, was a man of a severe temper, and treated the citizens with unnecessary harshness. Submitting, however, to an authority which it would have been hazardous to oppose, they con-

tinued their efforts throughout the winter, and prepared for the more formidable attack that awaited them in the spring. The enemy, as it was apprehended, renewed his operations against the harbour, being aware that, as long as the Carthaginians could find access to the ocean, his utmost endeavours would be defeated. Having made himself master of the inner port, he pushed forward into the great square, and thence to the citadel, into which a large body of the troops had retreated. Resistance, though now unavailing, was continued seven days, when terms were solicited from the conqueror, who freely allowed all to depart, except the deserters who had passed from his standard to that of the enemy. These last, amounting to 900, shut themselves up in the temple of Esculapius; and, choosing to perish by their own hands rather than submit to the punishment of traitors, they set fire to the building, and died amidst the flames.

Scipio is reported to have shed tears for the fate of the city which he himself had destroyed, and upon the ruin of which he knew that his glory as a warrior was to be founded. Looking upon a capital, once so flourishing, sacked and burnt by furious soldiers, he reflected on the revolutions of empires, and recited some verses from Homer in allusion to the future destinies of Rome, to which they were so easily adapted :—

"Yet come it will, the day decreed by fates :
(How my heart trembles while my tongue relates !)
The day when thou, imperial Troy, must bend,
And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end." *

* Iliad, lib. vi. v. 447.
Εὖ μὲν γὰρ τόδε οἶδα κατα φρένα και κατα θυμὸν
"Εσσεται ἦμαρ, ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ιλιος ἱρὴ,
Και πριαμος, καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμελιω πριαμοιο·

Corinth was demolished in the same year as Carthage; and we are told that a youth of the former city repeated a similar passage from the Greek poet when he beheld his native town reduced to ashes,—a fine tribute to the genius of the immortal bard, whose sentiments were thus engrafted upon the serious thoughts of all contemplative spirits throughout the civilized world.

It would appear that the greater number of the Carthaginians who survived the fall of their metropolis repaired to Tunis, situated at the distance of about twelve miles, and added at once to its population and its commerce. Some, indeed, are said to have withdrawn into Egypt, and even into the nearest of the Asiatic provinces; while others, incorporating with the mixed race of Liby-Phœnicians, fell back into the countries which acknowledged the sway of the Numidian princes. In this manner the whole of maritime Barbary, from Alexandria to Algiers, became subject to the Romans; for the Cyrenaica, as belonging to the kingdom of the Ptolemies, had previously fallen into their hands. The territory of Masinissa was relinquished to his sons, who seem to have exercised a joint sovereignty, under the protection of their august allies, until, upon the death of two of his brothers, the sceptre was assumed by Micipsa as his undivided right. In these circumstances, and as the senate abstained from every attempt to extend their conquests in Africa, peace continued many years uninterrupted under the proconsular government, to which the states of Carthage were now committed.

The tranquillity of the province was first disturbed by the ambition of Jugurtha, a nephew of

the Numidian king, being a natural son of Manastabal, one of the children of the celebrated Masinissa. Micipsa, whose accession has just been described, had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, who being still very young when he felt himself approaching his end, he intrusted the care of their education and interests to their cousin, now arrived at maturer years. The youths, as they approached manhood, bore with impatience the ascendency to which their relative had attained, and did not take any care to conceal their contempt for his origin, or their neglect of his counsels. Yielding to the strong feeling of resentment which had been thus unwisely excited, Jugurtha had recourse to arms; and as he possessed military talents far superior to those of the legitimate princes, his success in the field of battle soon compelled them to make known their cause at Rome, and entreat the aid or interposition of the senate.*

The administration of the two brothers appears to have experienced opposition from other quarters, before they came to blows with the son of Manastabal. A sheik or petty chief in Numidia, whose name was Jarbas, had risen in actual rebellion, and was not completely subdued until Pompey led against him a detachment of regular troops. Another pretender to the throne appeared in the person of Masintha, who could boast of a royal extraction, and, which was of much more value in his circumstances, the powerful patronage of Julius Cæsar. This claimant presented himself before the Roman senate, where he was met by Juba, the son of Hiempsal, in whose favour a decision was pro-

* Sallusti Jugurtha, cap. xiii.

nounced by the voice of the commonwealth. But Jugurtha, who was in arms against the same monarch, was better acquainted than Masintha with the means of influencing the judgment of that supreme council which now directed the affairs of Europe, Asia Minor, and a large portion of Africa. He had discovered, that neither the general in the camp nor the senator in the hall of justice was inaccessible to a bribe; and, as he had an ample treasury, he never found himself destitute of friends even among the stern advocates of republican purity. "O venal city!" he exclaimed, as he turned his back upon the towers of Romulus, "O city, ready for sale and destruction, shouldest thou meet a purchaser!"*

Jugurtha, pursuing the wily system which he had thought proper to adopt, found a complete recompense in a victory gained over a consular army, whom he compelled to pass under the yoke within sight of the ruins of Carthage; thereby gratifying the revenge of his country, and inflicting upon his proud conquerors an indelible disgrace. The defeated general bound himself to evacuate Numidia, with his whole forces, within ten days.†

Rage and shame filled the breasts of the senators when they heard of this miserable catastrophe. Metellus, a brave soldier, who by his triumphs over this rebellious prince earned the distinction of *Numidicus*, was sent into Africa to recover the honour

* "Urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit!" —Sallusti Jugurtha, cap. xxxv.

† The vanquished chief was Aulus Albinus, the brother of the consul, who had been left in the temporary command of the army. —Sall. Jugurth. c. xxviii. "Quæ, quanquam gravia et flagitii plena erant; tamen quia mortis metu mutabant, secuti Regi libuerat, pax convenit."

of Rome, and to secure the sovereignty for the descendants of Masinissa. The celebrated Marius, about two years afterwards, routed him completely in a sanguinary engagement; and, finally, through the treachery of Bocchus, the father-in-law of the usurper, obtained possession of his person, and condemned him to make part of the spectacle in his triumph. It is said that Jugurtha, amidst the pomp of his victor's entry into the capital, lost his reason, or at least his presence of mind; that the lictors stripped him; took the jewels from his ears; and threw him into a dungeon, where he justified to the last moment of his life all that he had averred concerning the rapacity of the Romans.*

After these events, the crown of Numidia was given to Juba, the son of Hiempsal; the enjoyment of which was cut short by the troubles which distracted Rome itself, and put a period to the republican government. There is, indeed, much apparent truth in the observation, that Carthage was no sooner levelled with the ground than an avenging deity seemed to rise from its ruins. The Roman manners became depraved; the commonwealth began to be distracted by civil wars; and these evils had their commencement upon the African shores. Scipio himself, the destroyer of that capital, died by the hands of his relations; the children of Masinissa, who contributed to the success of the invaders, slaughtered one another in the very scene of their

* Plutarch, in his Life of Marius, says that Jugurtha, as he walked in the procession, ran distracted. Eutropius (lib. iv. c. 28) remarks, that he was led before the chariot of Marius, bound with chains, and accompanied by his two sons. "Ante currum," &c.

"Nôsse cupis vulgo non cognita fata Jugurthæ
Ut Plutarchus ait, carcere clausus obit."

triumphs; and the possessions of Syphax enabled Jugurtha to seduce and vanquish the countrymen of Regulus. Again, the victory obtained over this politic usurper occasioned that jealousy between Marius and Sylla which soon plunged all Rome into mourning. Vanquished by his rival, the former of these commanders sought an asylum amid the tombs of Hanno and Hamilcar; and when a slave of Sextilius, the prefect of Africa, carried an order to the fugitive desiring him to quit the dilapidated walls which served him for a retreat, "Go tell thy master," replied the fallen consul, "that thou hast seen Marius seated upon the ruins of Carthage."

The conflict between Pompey and Cæsar was at length extended to the fields and deserts of Barbary. Juba, whose claims had been opposed in the senate by the latter of these warriors, took part with his antagonist, and joined himself to the remains of the fine army which had been broken at Pharsalia. The conqueror himself soon afterwards appeared in Africa, where his talents and fortune produced their wonted effects; subduing the more resolute of his enemies, and gaining the favour of those who were influenced by personal motives rather than by zeal for the cause in which they had engaged. Scipio Metellus, the father-in-law of Pompey, was defeated and put to death. The Numidian king, in order to escape from falling into the hands of the victor, induced his own friend, Petreius, to run him through the body. Cato slew himself at Utica; and Sylla, who was taken by one of Cæsar's lieutenants, was in a very summary manner deprived of life. Bocchus and Bogud, kings of Mauritania, who had alternately fought under the banners of the two great

rivals, lost, in the end, both their lives and their dominions; and hence, at the period when Augustus ascended the imperial throne, the whole of Barbary belonged to the Romans, or at least acknowledged them as the supreme rulers.*

But although Northern Africa was thus reduced into the form of a province, the new emperor was too well acquainted with the manners of the people, and with the vast difference which still subsisted between their consuetudinal laws and the statutes of a civilized nation, to place the Numidian states under the superintendence of a Roman deputy. He therefore resolved to confer the honour of sovereignty upon young Juba, the son of the late king, who, being a mere infant at the death of his father, was educated in Italy and trained in all the accomplishments which became his rank. As his dispositions were not inferior to his genius, which was of the highest order, he acquired the esteem of Augustus, who carried him as a companion in all his expeditions; and at the end of the civil war, when the family of Cleopatra were received under his protection, he married his royal captive to a daughter of the Egyptian queen, giving her as a dowry the crowns of Mauritania and Numidia.

This descendant of Micipsa is represented by historians as a very extraordinary person, and his works have been highly celebrated by learned men. According to Pliny, who frequently quotes his writings, he was a curious and indefatigable collector of valuable records,—extracting them from the Greek, Latin, Punic, and African chronicles, and connecting them in a continuous narrative with

* A. Hirt. Pans. de Bello Africano, cap. 73-75.

the greatest accuracy. He was, says the same historian, more distinguished for his erudition than by his kingly power.*

This amiable prince was succeeded by his son Ptolemy, who owed his name to his mother's family, and who inherited the least auspicious part of their fortunes. A revolt of his subjects, headed by a brave though unprincipled leader, who is known to history under the appellation of Tacfarinas, not only disturbed his government several years, but also employed the arms of Rome in a very doubtful war. Tacitus remarks that many generals contented themselves with triumphal honours, without exerting their strength to subdue the enemy. At Rome had been erected no fewer than three statues crowned with laurel, and yet Africa was still ravaged by the insurgents, who, disgusted with the conduct of some of Ptolemy's officers, preferred an honourable war to an inglorious vassalage. Their place of retreat was the territory of Garamantis, whose prince shared in the spoil, though without sending his troops into the field. Dolabella, the proconsul, whose force had been unduly diminished by the recall of the ninth legion, found it necessary to attack his enemy under the cloud of night. Hearing that the Numidians had taken possession of a wood as a safe place of encampment, he made a forced march with his cavalry and light-armed foot, and, falling upon them while still asleep and their horses at pasture, he gained an easy and a most complete victory. The Romans, irritated by the fatiguing service in which they had been so long employed, and stung by the remembrance of several discom-

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 1. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 13.

fitures, failed not to take ample revenge on their unresisting foes. The main object of their desire, however, was the life or captivity of Tacfarinas; being satisfied that as long as he should survive, the disaffected Africans would never be without a rallying point, a standard to follow, and a general to lead. But this brave rebel had determined that the soldiers of Augustus should not exult over him as a prisoner. Perceiving that all his guards were cut in pieces, that his son was already taken, and his adversaries pouring in thickly upon him, he sprang undauntedly forward into the midst of his assailants, and sold his life at a dear price.*

Ptolemy did not long enjoy the peace which was purchased at the expense of so much blood; for, being invited to Rome by the Emperor Caligula, he was barbarously murdered at the command of that tyrant, who either coveted his riches or envied his popularity. He was the last king of Africa for many ages; his dominions, at his death, being incorporated with the contiguous provinces, and governed by a prætor or proconsul. Mauritania, on this occasion, was divided into two sections,—a measure which was not accomplished without some disturbance and much bloodshed; for Ædemon, one of the freedmen of the late sovereign, took up arms to revenge his death. This war, which was prosecuted with various success, continued some years during the reign of Claudius, and, indeed, appears not to have reached its termination till near the middle of the first century; various leaders having sprung up to vindicate the independence of Western Africa,

* Annal. lib. iv. c. 15.

which, before these troubles, had not been approached by a Roman army.*

Having brought down the narrative of events, so far as they can be ascertained from authentic history, to the memorable epoch when the Roman empire gave laws to the greater part of the civilized world, and changed the form of supreme power in most of the ancient nations whose shores were washed by the Mediterranean, it may be convenient to pause until we shall have given a short sketch of the constitution and commerce of the Barbary States at the remote era to which our attention is now directed.

* Dion Cassius, lib. 59. Seneca, de tranquil. Vitæ. Plin. lib. v. c. 1, 2. Sueton. in vita Calig. sect. 26.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Constitution, Commerce, and Navigation of the Phœnician Colonies on the Coast of Barbary.*

Independence of the federated Towns, Utica, Leptis, &c.—Predominance of Carthage—Constancy of her Government—Its Progress described—Originally a Monarchy, but gradually became aristocratical—House of Mago—Rights of the People exercised in public Assemblies—And in the Election of Magistrates—Decided in all Questions in which the Kings and Senate could not agree—Constitution and Power of the Senate—The select Council—The Kings or Suffetes—Distinction between the King and a General—Some Resemblance to Roman Consuls and Hebrew Judges—Wise Administration of Justice—No judicial Assemblies of the People—Basis of Power occupied by the Senate—Trade and Commerce of Carthage—Inherited from the Phœnicians—Her Position favourable—Engrossed the Trade of Africa and Southern Europe—Opposed by the Greeks at Marseilles—Her Intercourse with Sicily, Sardinia, Malta, and the Balearic Isles—The Mines of Spain attract her Notice—Carthaginian Dealers penetrate into Gaul—Colonies in the Atlantic—The western Coasts of Spain—Voyages to Britain and the Tin Islands—Poem of Festus Avienus—Trade in Amber—Question whether the Carthaginians ever entered the Baltic—Voyage of Hanno towards the South—Colonies planted on the western Coast of Africa—The Towns built in that Quarter—The Carthaginians discovered Madeira—The Date at which the Expeditions of Hanno and Hamilco took Place—Proofs that Carthage must have attained great Power and Civilisation—Her Libraries—Agriculture—Splendid Villas—Rich Meadows and Gardens—Her extensive Land-trade across the Desert—Her warlike Propensities—Causes of her Decline and Fall.

Of the trading towns or smaller states which owned a subordination to Carthage, some were colonies which had sprung immediately from herself, and others were settlements founded by their common

parent, the wealthy city of Tyre. Sallust, who had good means of information on this subject, informs his readers, that not only Utica and Leptis, but also Adrumetum, Hippo, and other large towns on the coast, were of Phœnician origin.* These establishments are also understood to have been free and independent from the beginning; every one, with a moderate territory annexed to it, forming a little republic. Hence, the Carthaginians, even when they had attained their greatest degree of power, did not exercise an absolute government over these colonial sovereignties; but rather, on all proper occasions, were ready to acknowledge their constitutional freedom, and likewise their right of entering into separate alliances with foreign nations. This opinion is supported by the remarkable fact, mentioned by Polybius, that, in a commercial treaty between them and the Romans, made in the year 348 before Christ, it is said, "upon these conditions shall be peace between Rome and her allies, and between Carthage, Utica, and their allies." Here, it is obvious, Utica is recognised as on a footing of equality with the larger state, and as having the privilege of contracting, in regard to trade, a friendly intercourse with the Roman commonwealth, then fast approaching to her political supremacy.

It cannot be concealed, at the same time, that the greater riches and population of the colony founded by Dido, secured for it a predominating influence over the others, which appear to have

* Sallust. Jugurth. c. 19.—"Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratia, pars imperii cupidine, solicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim aliasque urbes in ora maritima condidere."—Polyb. lib. i. c. 1. Heeren, vol. i. p. 43.

conceded, without reluctance, that pre-eminence in public affairs which belonged to the mother-cities of Greece. Aristotle, who was well acquainted with the different constitutions which prevailed in his age, mentions, as a peculiar circumstance in the Carthaginian government, that, down to his own days, it had undergone no very great change, either from the impatience of its citizens or the usurpation of tyrants,—a proof that its principles were at once well balanced and judiciously administered. In common with Athens, Rome, Sparta, and the other celebrated democracies of ancient times, this Phœnician community, as we have just observed, presented the general character of having a single city for its head; and hence, however great the dominions of the metropolis might become, the government must still have remained municipal. It is nevertheless true, that the constitution of Carthage was not constructed upon any particular model, but arose, like the frame of society every where else, out of the circumstances in which she found herself placed. Originating in a monarchy, or rather, perhaps, in that patriarchal rule of which the eastern nations every where exhibit the pattern, it soon passed into a republic, where certain powers were extended to all orders of the state. Without trusting implicitly to the historical authorities usually quoted in support of these views, we might indeed presume, that this people, after the manner of all ancient colonies, adopted the political usages of their ancestors at Tyre, so far as these could be rendered applicable to the condition of things in which their civic authorities were first called to act.*

* Arist. Politic. lib. v. c. 12.

But although the Carthaginians are said to have preferred a commonwealth to the more despotic form which they had brought from Asia, it is generally understood that the actual administration of affairs was lodged in the hands of a few powerful families who constituted the aristocracy of wealth. As the magisterial office conferred honour, and even a certain rank, without any revenue, it must necessarily have been bestowed on persons distinguished by some measure of opulence; whence, we cannot be surprised to learn that, though there was no hereditary claim, riches supplied a qualification which, in most cases, was held equally valid. Aristotle has accordingly remarked, that the governors of the city were chosen on account of their property, their worth, and their popular virtues. In ordinary times, such considerations would doubtless have their full weight; but it is manifest that, in a nation devoted to conquest, another and a more prevailing source of influence would soon be opened up, in the superior military talents of an individual or a family. The Greek and Roman writers, owing to the scanty remains of Carthaginian history which fell into their hands, could not determine with precision the rise of those great names which figure in the more important transactions of the republic, her wars and treaties, and occasionally created so much jealousy in the minds of the people. But the house of Mago, the first conquerors of Sicily, affords a striking instance of the ascendency now alluded to; having, during the lapse of four generations, supplied commanders to their countrymen.*

It is manifest, therefore, that the royal functions

* Arist. Polit. lib. v. c. 7.

being superseded, the government of the ancient Barbary States, three or four centuries before the Christian era, had become a mixture of aristocracy with an infusion of democratical elements. We find, accordingly, that Polybius and Aristotle, the most competent authorities on this subject, place the constitution of Carthage among those mixed forms where power is divided between the people, properly so called, and the patrician order, which has gradually risen from them. The one compares it to the administration of Sparta, before anarchy or despotism had paralysed its rulers; and the other likens it to that of Rome, when, as yet, no demagogue had insulted the majesty of the senate.*

The rights enjoyed by the people appear to have been chiefly displayed in their public assemblies; but as to the precise extent of their privileges, and the manner in which they were exercised, history does not convey any satisfactory information. It is generally admitted, however, that the popular part of the government was invested with a certain influence in the election of the chief magistrates or kings,—a right which, while it imposed on the leading families a feeling of dependence, raised the great body of the commons to a suitable degree of political elevation. But we learn from Aristotle, that the distinction now mentioned was often prostituted to the lowest purposes; that the electors, in most cases, were actuated by considerations of gain rather than of national honour or advantage; and that, in his time, the highest offices in Carthage were obtained by bribery. We are informed by the same author, that there was placed in the hands of the people the

* Aristotle, as just quoted. Polyb. lib. vi. c. 2.

prerogative of deciding in all questions concerning which the king and the senate could not agree; and, on this principle, it was not uncommon to find them deliberating on matters of the deepest importance, such as declarations of war and treaties of peace.

The senate, it is however acknowledged, possessed a paramount authority in all state affairs; and in fact, previous to the wars with Rome, exercised nearly the whole power of the commonwealth. But it is not certainly known whether that assembly was permanent, or consisted of a body of citizens which was from time to time renewed, nor even what was the exact number of its constituent members. The ascendency which it had acquired strengthens the probability that it was not entirely dependent on the suffrages of the people; and there is equal reason to conclude that, like the Roman senate, it amounted to several hundreds, whose rank or services entitled them to a voice in its decisions. This inference derives confirmation from the fact, that out of it was chosen a more Select Council, which, it is said, was held in the greatest reverence, and enjoyed an unquestionable control over the senate itself. In respect to the origin of this supreme committee, Justin gives the following account:—"As the house of Mago became dangerous to a free state, 100 judges were chosen from among the senators, who, upon the return of generals from war, should demand an account of the things transacted by them, that they, being thereby kept in awe, should so conduct themselves in their military commands as to have regard to the laws of their country." As this tribunal consisted of a number so considerable, it may be concluded that the assembly from which it

was drawn comprehended no small proportion of the older and more wealthy families.*

This council, clothed with powers at once very extensive and arbitrary, became, in the end, dangerous to that liberty which it was its peculiar duty to protect. It is manifest, however, that during the flourishing period of the republic it answered the purpose for which it was designed; checking at once the power of triumphant commanders and the insolence of aspiring demagogues. At a later period, as has now been suggested, it degenerated into the most intolerable despotism; many officers being known to commit suicide rather than incur the hazard of its tyrannical rigour.

On the whole, it is the opinion of Heeren, that the duties of the Carthaginian senate, including both the larger and the smaller body, were of the same nature and extent as those of the Roman. There is no doubt that all business relating to foreign affairs was under their management; the official reports being laid before them by the kings or *suffetes*, who presided at their meetings. They likewise received foreign ambassadors; deliberated on all national concerns; and decided upon the expediency of peace and war, although, as a matter of form, the question was sometimes submitted to the people. The power of the senate, therefore, seems to have been unlimited, so long as its determinations agreed with those of the nominal sovereigns; and, consequently, its members held in their hands the greater part of the legislative authority. To their care, also, were confided the welfare and

* Justin. lib. xviii. c. 3-7; lib. xix. c. 1, 2.

security of the city, as well as the direction of the public revenue.*

But the highest office in the Carthaginian commonwealth was that of the kings, as they are usually denominated by the Greek writers. These were a class of rulers who, in their rank and duties, corresponded to the Consuls of Rome and to the Judges of the Hebrew tribes prior to the age of Samuel. All which is positively known respecting them is, that they were elected from the principal families of the state; that they presided in the senate; and that, in some other respects, they possessed a high degree of authority. It remains doubtful, however, whether there were two in office at the same time, or only one; and an equal uncertainty exists as to the duration of their appointment. The prevailing opinion among the best-informed authors of the present day is, that they continued in power during their whole lives.

It would appear that a distinction was uniformly preserved at Carthage between the duties of the king or judge, and those of the general who led the national troops into the field of battle; though, on certain occasions, it should seem, the union of the civil and military jurisdiction was not deemed incompatible. It was held sufficient, as a security for public freedom, that the rank of sovereign did not imply the more dangerous authority of chief commander; that the latter could not be held by the suffetes without a special nomination by the senate, confirmed in the assembly of the people; and that at the close of the campaign his powers expired, and could not be revived without the regular forms of a new appointment.

* Historical Researches, vol. i. chap. 3.

In the administration of justice the Carthaginians seem to have acted more wisely than the Greeks, and to have employed regular magistrates for the decision of all lawsuits. The people, accordingly, never assembled in a body to exercise the judicial functions, as they were wont at Rome and Athens, where so much injustice was perpetrated on public characters. This arrangement must have prevented many evils, as popular tribunals are well known to have formed one of the most dangerous institutions possessed by the free states of antiquity; and it appears also to have been founded on an aristocratical principle quite opposed to the irresponsible judgment of the multitude. In these respects the usages of Carthage bore a close resemblance to those of Lacedæmon, though it must be acknowledged that the information conveyed by Aristotle is so limited as not to afford materials for any certain or general conclusion.

The account now given, imperfect as it is, may nevertheless be sufficient to show the general character of the ancient constitution which distinguished the Barbary States. In a commercial community, depending on a single town, little else could be expected than that the more opulent families would seize the government, and form an aristocracy of which the main power rested in the senate; the members of which, too, would derive their chief dignity from the splendour of their wealth and conquests, and draw their strength from the mutual jealousy of the popular factions, and even from the religion of the people. On this foundation their polity remained firm and unshaken during several centuries; nor was it until after the first peace with

Rome that new circumstances arose, which dissevered the bands whereby the government of Carthage had been so long held together.

Proceeding now to make a few remarks on the commercial relations of this famous republic, we may observe, that trade and navigation are in all cases so intimately connected as to render it very difficult to consider them apart. As the daughter of Tyre, this great city was naturally led to lay the foundations of her power on her traffic with other countries. No nation in the ancient world is more celebrated than the Phœnicians as skilful craftsmen and adventurous sailors; carrying their manufactures, together with the commodities which they imported from the remote regions of the East and the South, to the provinces spread along the Black Sea and the borders of the Atlantic. Corn and honey, oil and balm, were brought from Judah and Israel; from Damascus came the wine of Helbon and the fine wool for which that part of Syria was long famous; the cypresses of Mount Hermon, the oaks of Bashan, the cedars of Lebanon, and the boxwood of Cyprus, were conveyed to Tyre, in exchange for the productions of her mechanical ingenuity. In Tarshish, or Spain, the Tyrians obtained silver, iron, tin, and lead; from the Isles of Elisha, or the shores of Asia Minor, was imported, according to the prophet, a species of blue and purple sailcloth, which proved extremely useful to their merchant-ships. From Egypt was conveyed cotton and linen goods, and perhaps those rarer articles of traffic, which were carried on the backs of camels from the interior of Africa. The eastern shores of Arabia supplied wrought iron, spices, ivory, ebony, gold, and

precious stones,—all which were brought overland to the coast of the Mediterranean, and exchanged for Phœnician manufactures or Spanish silver.

Carthage succeeded to a large portion of the trade originally possessed by the enterprising state from which she derived her origin. In some respects her position was more favourable for commerce with Africa and Western Europe, than even that of Tyre and Sidon; and there is no doubt that she availed herself of her advantages, in securing the riches of the Spanish peninsula, as well as those of the negro kingdoms situated beyond the Sahara. By means of caravans, her goods sought a market on the banks of the Upper Nile, and on either side of the Arabian Gulf; and in the Mediterranean her ships found an entrance into all the principal ports, from Cyrene to the Straits. With the view of extending her commerce and creating a demand for her manufactures, she formed settlements in Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands. This step became the more necessary to her, because, though she kept up a correspondence with the parent-country, as also with Greece, Egypt, and the Pentapolis, she appears not to have at any time enjoyed a large share of trade in those parts. Among these ancient nations, where competition already prevailed to no small extent, she could not fail to encounter many rivals; on which account, her rulers wisely endeavoured to secure an exclusive intercourse with the less-polished tribes who occupied the western shores of their inland sea. Even this object was not accomplished without opposition; for a Greek colony, planted at Marseilles, claimed the trade of Southern Gaul, while other establishments, not less jealous,

asserted a previous right to whatever profit might be derived from buying and selling among the Italians and merchants of Sicily.

It was, however, to the countries just named that her mercantile navigation was first directed. Carthaginian traders settled at an early period in Syracuse, as well as in other Greek cities, whose harbours were always full of their ships; while, on the other hand, these rich countries found the Tyrian colonists the best customers for their oil and wine, which they again disposed of at Cyrene, in exchange for commodities still more highly prized. That an active commerce existed between Carthage and the other nations of Italy,—the Romans and Etrurians,—is rendered manifest by the numerous treaties, of which some record still remains. The greater part of these, we are told, related to the suppression of piracy, at that time carried on by all maritime nations, especially by those on the northern side of the Mediterranean,—a practice which extended, not only to the plunder of towns, but also to the abduction of the inhabitants, who were instantly sold into captivity. The articles presented in the Italian markets by the States of Barbary, were black slaves from the interior, precious stones, gold, and manufactures; and, in return for these, they accepted, as has just been remarked, the produce of the soil,—corn, wine, and oil, together with certain specimens of art, in which the natives were already beginning to excel. Malta, which belonged to Carthage, soon became celebrated for the beautiful cloths it produced; Lipara and its dependencies, which owned the same government, supplied an abundance of resin, then esteemed a very valuable

article; Corsica was celebrated for its wax and slaves; and Elba enjoyed a high reputation, arising from its inexhaustible stores of iron, which were imagined to grow under the hand of the miner.

It has already been suggested that the Barbary States maintained an early and very extensive intercourse with Spain. That country, so rich in natural productions, presented one of the most profitable marts for the Carthaginian trade; while its mines formed one of the principal sources of their revenue. At the period when they were first visited by the ships of the new republic, the inhabitants had attained just that degree of civilisation which made them acquainted with foreign commodities, and led them to covet their possession, without having inspired them with the knowledge of producing any work of art which might be given in exchange. Hence the traffic with them must have been extremely advantageous to the older nation, who could, in the absence of all competition, charge for their goods an arbitrary price. Penetrating through the peninsula, the chapmen of Carthage carried their wares into France,—not having yet established a footing on its southern shores, which, as is mentioned above, were jealously occupied by the Greeks of Massilia, a people not less devoted than themselves to the pursuits of commerce. This early intercourse with Gaul is proved by the great number of mercenary troops from that country, which, during the first of the Sicilian wars, fought in the Carthaginian armies, as well as by the eager desire which was manifested to expel the settlers, who had anticipated them in colonizing its richest provinces.*

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. c. 21. Scylax, p. 50, quoted by Heeren.

As to the trade which the African merchants extended into the Atlantic, it is difficult to make a distinction between what they accomplished as original adventurers and what they inherited from their Phœnician progenitors. It is manifest that the ships of Tyre had already opened the way for them beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and it admits not of any doubt that they continued to follow the track thus indicated to their commercial navy. The best writers on this subject are unanimous in the opinion, that the Carthaginians had a number of colonies on the western coast of Spain, as also that the articles which principally composed their cargoes were tin and amber. According to the express evidence of antiquity, the metal now mentioned was found, not only in the mountains of Biscay, but also in Britain, and in certain islands which lay not far from its shores.*

With respect to the course of this trade, we are informed by Strabo, that in early times it was conducted by the Phœnicians, or Carthaginians, who had their principal seat at Gades. It would appear, therefore, that this people at first contented themselves with the office of carriers; though, from the extent of their navigation, it might be concluded that they frequently approached the British shores, and transacted business with the natives. Some light is thrown on this inquiry, by a passage in the poem of Festus Avienus, who has clothed in verse the more remarkable incidents which distinguished the voyage of Hamilco. He relates that the Œstrymnian Islands,—supposed to be those now named the Scilly,—abound in tin and lead. Their numerous in-

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. c. 19-22.

habitants, says he, are proud and ingenious, and devote themselves entirely to commerce, gliding over the sea in their frail canoes, formed, not of wood, but of hides. Two days' sail from them is the "Sacred Island," inhabited by the Hibernians; but the island of the Albiones is close at hand. The Tartessians were the first traders to the Œstrymnian Islands, though the colonies and the people of Carthage about the Pillars of Hercules navigate these seas. The voyage, as Hamilco affirms, occupies four months, as he himself experienced.*

This quotation proves that it was chiefly the Tartessians,—in other words, the Phœnician colonists in Spain,—who performed the voyages to which Avienus alludes. Carthage, however, and her settlements, also took an active part; and Hamilco himself had extended his course, whether for trade or discovery, to the same point. The long period exhausted in a voyage, comparatively so short, is accounted for in his own narrative, in which he states that he proceeded along the coast, where his progress was impeded by many obstructions. Among these he mentions a vast accumulation of seaweed, which, together with other impediments not more intelligible to a modern sailor, prevented him from stretching out into the open main. The Scilly Isles were unquestionably the object that he had principally in view, though the intercourse which the Carthaginians maintained with these minor settlements comprehended also some acquaintance with Hibernia and the neighbouring shores of Albion, both of which, it is more than probable, were visited by the Eastern navigators. In fact, from what Strabo says,

* Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, v. 95-125.

it may be inferred that an active commerce existed on the English coast, as he observes that the manners of the native tribes were rendered milder by their frequent intercourse with strangers. It might even be conjectured, from his remarks, that the merchants of Carthage had regular stations in Britain, without which a long stay among the inhabitants, such at least as to affect their habits, would not have been practicable.

The trade here, as well as in the Scilly Isles, appears to have resolved itself, as was usual in those ancient times, into a species of barter. Earthenware, salt, and iron tools, were the commodities with which the foreigners supplied them. But on this subject we labour under a want of details; for, till the time of the Romans, the particulars of the traffic which the Carthaginians carried on with their customers beyond the Straits were enveloped in the profoundest secrecy. This precaution, however, did not keep away all competitors. The way which the Phœnicians found out by sea, the Greeks of Massilia found out by land; for, journeying along the shore as far as the British Channel, whence they procured quantities of tin, at that time an object of great request, they conveyed it, after thirty days' travel, to the mouth of the Rhone.

The descriptions of the ancients, in respect to the dealings of the Phœnician colonists, both in Spain and Africa, with the natives of the tin-countries, are at once so minute and distinct, that there is no room whatever for doubt as to the great extent of their trade and navigation several centuries before the Christian era. The case, however, as Heeren justly observes, is widely different with regard to

the other article which induced them to brave the terrors of the Atlantic, namely, the production which by them was denominated "electrum," and is familiarly known to us by the designation of amber. Every circumstance connected with the obtainment of this commodity has been so darkened by fable, that the narratives of the best authors are rendered quite unintelligible,—a fact which proves that the country whence it was procured was much more distant than the lands which abounded in tin. This obscurity, too, which every reader has cause to lament, has been not a little increased by the attempts of certain moderns to confine the trade in amber to one place; while, from the accounts given by Pliny, it is clear that it was to be found in several districts and islands in the north of Europe. The whole of Scandinavia was celebrated for this valuable commodity; and, assuredly, there is no good reason for supposing, that the daring nation which doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed from Tyre to Britain, might not also have reached the Samlandic coast.*

But the absence of facts forbids any confident conclusion relative to this particular branch of that very extensive commerce in which the ancient States of Barbary, under the auspices of their Tyrian colonists, are known to have engaged; and he who endeavours to elicit historical truth from the maze of fabulous geography with which alone we are supplied, pursues a phantom which will for ever elude his most eager grasp.†

It is generally admitted, that the Œstrymnian

* See Heeren; Historical Researches, vol. i. p. 173.
† Ibid.

or Cassiterides, that is, the Tin Islands of the ancients, may be identified with those of Scilly. It is remarkable, however, that in these last there are no traces of tin at the present day, and no vestiges that it was ever found there in a native state. Neither, as a modern author observes, if the Atlantic navigation of the Carthaginians was all along the coast, can we see why the metals should have been brought thither for sale from Cornwall, which lies just as near Ushant, whence the trading vessels must have stretched across the Channel. Lelewel considers the Bay of Biscay to have been the great recess in which the Œstrymnian Islands were situated; but the Scilly Isles, it is well known, do not lie there, and no efforts will make the description of the cape, bay, and islands, given in Avienus, correspond with the real appearance of the western coast of Europe. But, on the whole, there is very little reason to dispute the fact, that the southern coast of Britain was visited by Punic merchantmen; though it must be acknowledged, that there is no direct proof of their having proceeded any farther north. The amber which was conveyed to the Mediterranean may have been purchased on the coast of Gaul, whither it could be brought overland by the Germans. It may even have been carried thither by sea; for it is not improbable that the Scandinavians, even at that early epoch, were no less expert navigators than they were actually found to be at the very dawn of history.*

While Hamilco was employed in surveying the western shores of Portugal and Spain, his brother

* Foreign Quarterly Review, No. xxvii. p. 220, &c.

Hanno conducted an expedition towards the south, with the view of planting colonies on the borders of Africa. His fleet amounted to sixty large ships, having on board 30,000 persons, who had consented to occupy new lands at a distance from Carthage. These he distributed into six towns, which of course contained on an average 5000 inhabitants. They consisted, we are told, of Liby-Phœnicians,—the descendants of the natives and of the Tyrian emigrants,—and were chosen, not from the citizens, but from the peasantry of the adjoining districts. The settlements of Hanno, it is presumed, did not extend beyond the boundaries of Fez and Morocco; the first of them, which was called Thymatirium, being only two days' sail from the termination of the strait or promontory of Spartel. Next to that is mentioned the point of Soloe or Cape Blanco, where was erected a temple to Neptune, or, as Scylax describes it, a large altar decorated with bas-reliefs, representing human figures, lions, and dolphins. Proceeding a day and a half farther south along the coast, the navigator selected places for five towns,—Tecchos, Gytta, Acra, Melite, and Arambe. The remotest settlement was Kerne, which, it is supposed, must be sought for in the vicinity of Mogadore, or, perhaps, in the Bay of Santa Cruz.*

The colonies planted by Hanno seem to have been the first which were established in those unfrequented regions; at least no traces are found in

* Scylax. Periplus, p. 2. Festus Avienus, v. 357.

"Ultra has columnas propter Europæ latus
Vicos et urbes incolæ Carthaginis
Tenuere quondam."

his narrative of any community of human beings having fixed their abode on the lands that he appropriated. The whole length of the coast is described as a discovery which he appears to have carried beyond the Senegal, though he did not take possession of all the territory he explored. As to his settlements, their ultimate fate is wrapt in obscurity; in the time of the Roman wars they had ceased to exist as Carthaginian dependencies, and had probably fallen a prey to the tribes of the neighbouring Desert.

Their intercourse with the Atlantic shores of Africa, would almost necessarily make the Carthaginians acquainted with some of those numerous islands which lie scattered in the ocean.* Diodorus, accordingly, relates, that the Phœnicians,—a name which he frequently applied to the mariners of the Barbary States,—had detected an island many days' sail westward from Libya; the glowing description he gives of which recalls to our recollection the idea of such happy clusters as have from time to time been brought to light in the South Sea, where summer always prevails, where the trees are ever green,

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* Diodor. Siculus, lib. v. c. 19. Heeren remarks, that the description in the text could not apply to the Canary Islands. A passage in Avienus seems to allude to Teneriffe and its volcano. Beyond the Pillars lies an island,—"Ultra has columnas," &c.

"On Ocean's bosom spread,
Where varying herbs in wild profusion grow,
Sacred to Saturn is the land esteemed:
And Nature's power is there terrific seen:
For when by chance the mariner draws nigh
The coast, the ambient waters rage around,
The island shakes and starts among the waves,
And deeply trembles; while the ocean lies
Calm in the distance, silent and unmoved."—Ver. 164, &c.

and where the wants of the inhabitants are supplied by the spontaneous gifts of nature. All that he tells us, of its being situated at a considerable distance in the ocean, of its streams and rivers, of its productions, its fruits, and foliage, agrees with no other island so well as Madeira.

Historians and geographers have long disputed as to the extent of the navigation which the ships of Carthage accomplished in the Atlantic Ocean. Some are content with extending the limits of their voyages from the southern coast of Britain on the north to Cape Bojador on the south; while others, conferring upon them a share in the direct trade with the Baltic, conduct their ships to the mouth of the Vistula and the coast of Prussia, on the one hand, and on the other, to the estuary of the Gambia and the shores of Guinea. It is even maintained, that they crossed to America, and visited the borders of the New World,—an opinion founded so entirely upon conjecture, as to be beyond the reach of fact or reasoning, were we to undertake its refutation. We agree with an author already quoted, that "at the time Carthage was most flourishing, she traded *northwards* directly to Britain, and indirectly to the Baltic; *southwards* to the Gambia by sea, and by caravans far into the interior of Africa; while *eastward* she carried on an active commerce with all parts of the Mediterranean, and, through the mother-city, obtained the productions of India. She may, too, have purchased slaves from the Grecian slave-dealers. Her commercial relations would thus have extended over nearly the whole of the known world, and would only have been surpassed by those of modern Europe since the

discovery of America, and of the passage to the East by the Cape of Good Hope.*

It is manifest that the spirit of monopoly was a chief element in the Carthaginian laws, as is proved by their commercial treaties with Rome, and from the fact of it being the custom to drown the crews of such vessels, belonging to other nations, as were found in the vicinity of those places with which they carried on the most lucrative traffic. This ardent rivalry is assigned by Heeren as the main cause why their trade was not more extensive in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean, where they could not have escaped a very active competition with the older dealers.

It would appear that the expeditions under Hanno and Hamilco took place about 480 years before the reign of Augustus,—a period when Carthage enjoyed the blessing of a profound peace. Her progress in wealth, population, and refinement, must already have been very considerable. A fleet of sixty large ships, each propelled by fifty oars, and having on board 30,000 emigrants, denotes the power and condition of a prosperous state. Another proof of her advancement in the arts and enjoyments of social life, is the attention paid by her citizens to agriculture regarded as a science. Pliny relates, that when the Romans overthrew the city of Dido, they gave the libraries found there to their allies, the Numidians,—a circumstance which throws some light upon the manner in which the works of the Carthaginian historians had come into the possession of King Hiempsal. The works of Mago alone,

Foreign Quarterly Review, No. xxvii. p. 225.

one of the kings or suffetes, extending to twenty-eight books, were translated into Latin by Solinus; some fragments of which, preserved by the distinguished naturalist to whom we owe our knowledge of this fact, are sufficient to show, that the royal author treated fully of all kinds of husbandry, agriculture, planting, breeding of stock, and the improvement of fruit-trees. It cannot, then, be doubted, even if the mention of libraries failed to prove it, that there was a Carthaginian literature; that it was patronised by the great; and had already passed from the romance of poetry, the first composition of all rude nations, into the more didactic form of prose.*

All accounts agree in praising the high state of cultivation found in the neighbourhood of Carthage. We learn from Diodorus, that the territory through which Agathocles led his army, after landing on the African shore, was covered with gardens and large plantations, every where abounding in canals, by means of which they were plentifully watered. A continual succession of fine estates were seen, adorned with elegant buildings, which indicated the opulence of their proprietors. These dwellings, says he, were furnished with every thing requisite for the enjoyment of men; the owners having accumulated immense stores during the long peace. The lands were planted with vines, with palms, and with many other trees bearing fruit. On one side were meadows filled with flocks and herds, and on the lower grounds were seen numerous brood-mares reserved for the uses of the army, the chariot, or the husbandman. In short, the whole prospect displayed the riches of

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. c. 3.

the inhabitants; while the higher ranks had very extensive possessions, and vied with one another in pomp and luxury.*

Fifty years later, when the dominions of Carthage were invaded by the Romans, a similar picture is given by Polybius of the wealth, elegance, and cultivation which every where adorned them. On that occasion, a number of splendid villas were destroyed, an immense booty was obtained in cattle, and above 20,000 slaves were carried away. The same historian relates, that at the period now mentioned, the better class of the people drew their private income from their own estates; the public revenue was derived from the provinces.†

We have already alluded to the land-trade of Carthage, which, by means of caravans, she appears to have carried far into the South, the East, and the West. Herodotus, whose knowledge of ancient Africa was much more complete and accurate than hasty critics are wont to imagine, has traced with much precision the routes of the merchant-travellers from the neighbourhood of the Syrtis to Fezzan, Siwah or Ammonium, Thebes, the regions of the Joliba, and even the borders of the western desert. No difficulties however great, no dangers however appalling, can check the avarice or damp the courage of man, when wealth, conquest, or revenge, become the motives of his actions. Gold, precious stones, drugs, spices, dates, salt, and slaves, were the objects upon which the Phœnician colonists and their Libyan subjects placed the greatest value, and to obtain which they consented to undergo the most painful

* Diod. Sicul. lib. ix. c. 26, &c.
† Polyb. lib. i. c. 5, and lib. ii. c. 3, 4, 5.

toils, and encounter the most frightful hazards that a wilderness, many hundred miles in extent, parched by the sun, disturbed by moving sands, and destitute of water, could present to the imagination. By these means, however,—her colonies, her fleets, and her internal commerce,—Carthage became one of the most powerful commonwealths of ancient times; and by the fame which she acquired as the patron of discovery and navigation, by her gallant struggle with Rome, the victories of her generals, and their conquests in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, he has conferred upon the Barbary States a degree of renown which could not otherwise have fallen to their lot.

The rulers of Carthage have been blamed for yielding to the temptation of engaging in war. It has been imagined that, had they followed the example of Tyre, their greatness would never have been impaired, nor their stability menaced; inasmuch as all nations would have shown a readiness to trade with her, if she had not avowed an intention to conquer a settlement in every country where her crews were permitted to land. Experience has proved, however, that an extensive foreign commerce cannot be maintained without territorial possessions. The colonies of England, Holland, and France, in the remotest parts of the globe, seem to establish the fact, that the soldier, if he do not precede, will ever follow closely in the footsteps of the merchant.

The fate of this celebrated republic, however, was hastened, not so much by her warlike propensities and desire of conquest, as by the necessity which was imposed upon her of employing foreign mercenaries to fight her battles. She enlisted, in Africa, Spain, and Gaul, troops who could have no sincere

interest in her prosperity or reputation, and who, upon the slightest reverse of fortune, were ready to take part with her enemies, and even to draw the sword under their banners. The expense, too, incident to protracted wars, by exhausting her ordinary resources, compelled her to lay oppressive taxes on her subjects, and more especially on her African dependencies; who, it is said, were on some occasions obliged to surrender, in the form of tribute, not less than half the produce of their lands. Again, by employing in the field her Numidian allies, the fearless horsemen of the Sahara, she taught them to render their courage formidable, by adding to it the valuable qualities of discipline and subordination; and, accordingly, when the final contest arose, the Romans found most efficient auxiliaries in the squadrons of Masinissa, Syphax, and Juba, who were eager to avenge on the proud republic the injuries which their countrymen had formerly sustained at the hands of the Phœnician settlers. The fall of Carthage has, moreover, been ascribed to that neglect of her maritime forces which was manifested during the last Punic war. When Scipio crossed from Sicily to Africa, there was not a fleet to oppose him. But the principal cause of her decline and ultimate overthrow was the fierce hostility of rival factions within her own walls. Two great parties, arrayed the one against the other, indulged their mutual enmity while the legions were at her gates: tyranny on the one hand was met by turbulence on the other; and each section of the commonwealth, with the language of patriotism in their mouths, were more pleased to see their country perish than to witness the ascendency of their political antago-

nists. In the fate of Carthage was exemplified the usual result of a popular government and of civic contention: the voice of clamour is silenced only by the shouts of a triumphant foe, who puts an end to the rivalry of parties by treading all distinctions under foot.

The late Emperor of France was wont to compare our countrymen to the Carthaginians; both being distinguished by their success in commerce, their command of the sea, and their numerous colonies: And, for reasons which appeared satisfactory to his penetrating mind, he predicted that a similar fate, originating in similar causes, would at no distant period overtake his great rival. Let us hope that the voice of history will not be heard in vain; and that the errors of past ages will impress modern states with the feelings of wisdom and caution.

# CHAPTER III.

## *Modern History of the Barbary States.*

Time when the Barbary States assumed an independent Existence—The Libyans first inhabited Northern Africa—Influence of Phœnician Colonies—Ancient and Modern Divisions of the Country—Extent of Roman Conquests—Revival of Carthage—Rebuilt from its own Ruins—Site and Description of it—Remains of former Magnificence—Mercenary Conduct of Romanus, Count of Africa—Sufferings of the Tripolitans—Usurpation of Firmus—Victories of Theodosius—Death of Firmus—Insurrection under Gildo—Wisdom and Bravery of Stilicho—Death of Gildo—Rebellion of Heraclian—Error of Bonifacius—He invites the Vandals—Progress of Genseric, their General—Death of Bonifacius—Continued Success of the Vandals—Fall of Carthage—Severe Sufferings of the Inhabitants—Policy of Genseric—He creates a Navy—Sacks Rome—Prosecutes a Maritime War—Marjorian meditates the Invasion of Africa—His Fleet is destroyed by Fire—Attempt of Basilicus—Loss of his Ships—Death of Genseric—Accession of Justinian—Usurpation of Gelimer in Africa—Belisarius takes the Command there—Victory over Gelimer—He reduces Carthage—Conquest of Africa—Surrender of Gelimer—Decay of the Vandal Power—Africa gradually relapses into Barbarism—Commerce and Agriculture languish—Arrival of the Saracens—Conduct of the Prefect Gregory—Valour of Akbah—Dissension among the Caliphs—Akbah is slain—Conduct and Fate of Zobeir—Foundation of Kairwan—Hassan retakes Carthage—The Greek Imperialists defeated, and finally leave the Country—The Moors contend for the Sovereignty—Queen Cahina—Her Success and Defeat—Union of the Moors and Mohammedan Arabs—Revolt of Ibrahim—Dynasty of the Aglabites—Other Dynasties founded by Rostam and Edris—Rise of the Fatimites—Of the Zeirites—Emigration of Arabs from the Red Sea—The Almohades and Almoravides.

As it was not till about the time when the ascendency of the Turks was established in the Eastern Empire, that the modern kingdoms of Tripoli, Tu-

nis, Algiers, and Morocco, claimed the notice of the geographer or historian as separate, and in some degree independent governments, the annals of Northern Africa, down to the end of the fifteenth century, will be most conveniently presented under one head, and as applicable to the whole country which stretches from Cyrene to the Western Ocean. It has been already remarked that this region, if we follow the line of the coast, may be estimated at not less than 2000 miles; though its breadth, confined between the Mediterranean and the Sahara, does not exceed 150, even where the sandy border is farthest removed.

Till the arrival of the Phœnicians, that fertile colony was inhabited by the Libyans, accounted by ancient writers among the most savage of mankind, —a race of wandering shepherds who, in our times, are more familiarly known by the appellation of Berbers, from which the whole maritime district has taken its name. The proximity of the Tyrian settlement produced, to some extent, on their character and habits, those changes which a civilized people hardly ever fail to accomplish among rude tribes, strangers to reflection, and to all the artificial enjoyments of life. But, even at the present day, the descendants of those simple Nomades occupy a prominent station in the land of their fathers; and are, it is thought, easily distinguishable from the Moors, as well as from those other families of later origin, whose lineage belongs to the central parts of Asia or even of Europe. The following representation exhibits the features and dress of these children of the Desert, who, it will be observed, bear no slight resemblance to the inhabitants of Southern Arabia, with whom their oldest tradition connects them.



Berbers.

It has appeared that, under the immediate jurisdiction of Carthage, the neighbouring lands became the centre of commerce and of empire; though the remains of that renowned commonwealth must now be sought in the disorderly states of Tripoli and Tunis. The Numidia, which was the object of contention between Jugurtha and Masinissa, is at present subject to the military government of Algiers; though a large portion of that kingdom was withdrawn in the reign of Augustus, and erected into a proconsular province, under the title of Mauritania Cæsariensis. The true country of the Moors, which, from the ancient city of Tingi, or Tangier, was denominated Tingitana, is placed in our maps as the sovereignty of Fez. The Romans extended their

sway as far as the ocean, comprehending Sallee, once so infamous for its piracies; and Mequinez, a residence of the Emperor of Morocco, may still be identified as one of their foundations.

Under the fostering care of the imperial government, more especially as administered by Augustus, the first of its sovereigns, Carthage emerged from its ruins, and became once more the capital of *Africa Propria*, the territory to which the senate thought it meet to restrict this designation. In truth, if a judgment may be formed from the relics which still remain, it must be admitted that the principal grandeur of the new city was bestowed upon it, at a period subsequent to the age of the beneficent ruler just named, and when architectural taste had already somewhat declined. Several of the mutilated statues, we are told, are in the worst style of the Lower Empire. There are, notwithstanding, many proofs that the birthplace of Hannibal must have been occupied soon after its first and violent destruction; several of the walls and even of the towers being composed of ancient fragments confusedly piled together. Most of the arcades and public buildings, too, appear to have been made up of massy blocks of sandstone and conglomerate, disposed in layers, without cement, or with a species of it which has almost entirely dissolved. The greatest care seems to have been lavished upon the temples. These edifices were constructed in a style of the utmost magnificence, adorned with immense columns of granite and marble; the shafts of which, generally speaking, consisted of a single piece.

Even here, however, there are indications that the Roman Carthage was indebted for some of its

decorations to the Carthage founded by the Phœnicians. Many of the pillars now found are of the Corinthian order, and belong, of course, to an improved epoch of the art; but amongst them are also seen enormous masses of a different description, displaying capitals and triglyphs, which render it extremely probable that a structure of Doric architecture had previously occupied the site at present covered with their common ruins. The more modern city, at all events, must have been encompassed with strong walls of solid masonry, furnished with magnificent gates, and ornamented with spacious porticos. It was divided, too, from its principal suburb on the east by a river, the mouth of which, forming an extensive basin, was called the "Cothon," defended at its narrow entrance by two strong fortifications, and connected with which were a couple of moles, still seen stretching out under the water. On the banks of this stream, the bed of which continues to be occupied by a rivulet, are the remains of various aqueducts, and some large reservoirs in excellent preservation. Between the principal cisterns and a torrent which passes to the westward of Leptis, some mounds have been constructed across the plain, by means of which the winter rains were conveyed for the use of the city. On the eastern bank of the river already mentioned are the vestiges of a galley-port and of numerous baths, together with a circus richly ornamented with obelisks and columns. The whole plain, indeed, from the Margib Hills to the Cinyphus, presents unequivocal proofs of great opulence and a dense population.*

* Beechey, p. 74. Leo Africanus remarks, "Notissimum hoc

These fragments of ancient magnificence leave no doubt as to the care bestowed by the Romans upon the capital of their Africa, however difficult it may be to determine the proportion of them which belongs to a remoter period. Nor can it be necessary to remark that the second Carthage, with the provinces subjected to its jurisdiction, shared largely in those vicissitudes and political commotions which shook the empire itself, both before and after the reign of Constantine. At one time three hundred cities are said to have acknowledged her authority, after she had risen with new splendour from her ashes, and when she had once more acquired, as a provincial metropolis, all the advantages which can be separated from independent sovereignty.*

The first calamities which Roman Africa endured, arose from the ferocious character of her neighbours, and the avarice of those who were sent by the imperial court to exercise the government. In the reign of Valentinian, about the middle of the fourth century, the military command was intrusted to a chief, whose sordid views were the leading motives of his conduct, and who, on most occasions, acted as if he had been the enemy of the province, and the friend of the barbarians by whom it was assailed. The three flourishing cities of Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripolis, had long constituted a federal union, were obliged,

atque antiquissimum oppidum a quodam populo extructum fuit qui ex Syria huc venerat. Alii vero a Regina quadam conditum malunt.—Quare nihil est in præsentia quod de hujus conditoribus affirmem; nam præterquam quod variè Afri atque historiographi inter se dissentiant, nemo est illorum qui inde aliquid scriptum reliquerit nisi post Romani imperii decrementum.—P. 553. Edit. 1632.

* Strab. Geog. lib. xvii.

for the first time, to shut their gates in order to protect the lives and property of their inhabitants from the savages of the Desert. After much suffering, the civic rulers applied to Romanus, entitled the Count of Africa, entreating him to march to their relief, and promising to raise, without delay, the supplies of money and camels, which he had made the condition of their obtaining his protection.

But the mercenary general, hoping that the fears of the Tripolitans would hasten their gifts, delayed his assistance till many of the citizens were surprised and massacred, their villages burnt, their suburbs plundered, and the vines and fruit-trees of their fine territory rooted up or consumed with fire. A deputation to Rome was instantly resolved upon by the assembly of the three cities, the members of which were instructed to inform Valentinian of their deplorable condition, and, at the same time, to convey to his ears the well-founded complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy, and betrayed by his lieutenant. The count, however, contrived to anticipate this intelligence, which must have endangered his command and perhaps his life, and to impress upon the minds of the imperial council, that the murmurs against him had no other foundation than the cowardice or disaffection of the provincialists. An investigation was commanded by the emperor, who appears to have been animated with a sincere desire to discover the truth, and to pronounce an award according to justice. But Romanus experienced as little difficulty in deceiving or corrupting the commissioners, as he had to encounter in his attempts upon the honesty of the supreme government. The charge against him was declared to

be false; the information lodged by the people of Tripolis was interpreted as the proof of a conspiracy; and orders were given to prosecute the authors of it as traitors to their lawful sovereign. The inquiries were managed with so much dexterity, that the citizens of Leptis, who had sustained a siege of eight days, were compelled to contradict the truth of their own decrees, and to censure the behaviour of their own deputies. A sentence, sanctioned by Valentinian, condemned the president of the Tripolitan council to death; and, accordingly, this distinguished person, as well as four others of similar rank, were publicly executed, as accomplices in an imaginary treason.*

This cruel and unjust decision, by showing the subjects of the Roman colony that they were excluded from the benefits of an equal government, diminished whatever affection or confidence they might have entertained towards the masters of Africa. An occurrence soon took place, which exposed their allegiance to a severe test. Firmus, the son of Nabal, a Moorish prince, had forced his way to the occupation of his barbarian sovereignty by destroying the life of a brother, whose birth gave him a better claim, and who, moreover, enjoyed the patronage of the Romans. Imitating the conduct of Jugurtha, this usurper had recourse at once to policy and arms; but finding the former unavailing, and that the count was about to prove an inexorable enemy, he took the field at the head of a powerful body of troops, and bade defiance to his resentment. The authority of Firmus was soon established in all the provinces of Numidia and

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. xviii. c. 6.

Mauritania; while the indiscriminating fury with which he pursued his conquests along the shores of the Mediterranean, compelled or induced many of the provincialists to join his standard.*

Romanus, whose talents were only displayed in the arts of oppression and fraud, found himself unequal to oppose the victorious insurgents, who already possessed, as confederates or vassals, nearly all the towns between Cæsarea and the ocean. Africa, accordingly, must have been severed from the empire, had not Theodosius been sent to restore its affairs, and to repel the ravages of the Moors. Firmus, though his arms and treasures were still undiminished, gave way to despair as soon as he learned that a commander so renowned had landed on the coast. At first, he had recourse to an apparent submission, with a view to deceive the vigilance of his opponent, and he even attempted to corrupt the soldiers, whom he dared not to encounter in the field. The imperial lieutenant, who was not ignorant of the character of the prince with whom he condescended to negotiate, listened to his expressions of repentance and promises of fidelity; but, at the same time, kept a watchful eye over his proceedings, and was busy in making preparations for the war in which he was aware that all their professions of mutual friendship must ultimately terminate. Nor was it long before these suspicions were realized. A conspiracy, which aimed at the life of Theodosius, was detected, and involved in capital punishment some of the principal adherents of the Mauritanian chief, although he himself, who was ready to profit by their success, effected his escape into his native

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxix. c. 5.

dominions, and left them to their fate. But the Roman general having determined that his life also should pay the penalty of his rashness, in presuming to attack the subjects of the empire, pursued him into the fastnesses of Mount Atlas, and finally succeeded in making him prisoner. Firmus, however, resolved to disappoint the triumph of his adversary, who had meant to make him a public example; and, adopting the maxims of his age and country as to the right of the human being to shorten or protract his own existence, relieved himself from shame by committing suicide.

A. D. 386. But the death of this tyrant did not secure permanent tranquillity to the African provinces. Gildo, his brother, had been allowed to retain the vast possessions which had been forfeited by treason; and as his fidelity and services to the empire seemed to merit a still higher reward, he was raised to the dignity of a count, and invested with the command of the Roman territory. As, however, his power increased, his insolence and cruelty became daily more intolerable; and, profiting by the dissensions which preceded the accession of Theodosius to the throne, he hesitated not to announce himself the sovereign of Africa. During twelve years, the country groaned under the domination of an upstart, who seemed at once to disregard his native land, and to encourage the factions by which it was divided. At length, when Arcadius was elevated to the government of the East, the count, who had promised to respect the authority of Honorius, his rightful sovereign, chose to transfer to the former his allegiance and aid, which the ministers of that weak prince advised him to accept. But at this important crisis the councils

of the West were directed by Stilicho, a brave soldier and experienced statesman, who prevailed upon the senate to denounce Gildo as a rebel and public enemy. Troops were assembled and transports were prepared to carry the revenge of the republic against the ungrateful Moor, to strip him of the honours which he had abused, and to punish the numerous crimes laid to his charge. The command of a small army of veterans was confided to Mascezel, another son of the house of Nabal, who, being obliged to fly from the ferocious jealousy of his brother, had sought refuge in Italy, where he heard of the inhuman massacre of his wife and children, whom he was compelled to leave behind.*

A. D. 398. Gildo, who soon received notice of the preparations which were making against him, exerted his utmost activity and means to collect an army which might successfully repel the meditated invasion. He endeavoured, by the most profuse liberality, to secure the attachment of the regular troops who had joined in his revolt; while he drew from the deserts of Getulia and the valleys of Atlas a large body of natives who were accustomed to regard him as their hereditary prince. Seeing around him a host amounting, it is said, to 70,000 men, he boasted that his cavalry would trample under their horses' feet the few cohorts which accompanied his brother, or drive them back into the sea. But the issue of the first battle disappointed all his hopes; the sense of duty returned to the legionary soldiers on whom he chiefly relied; and his Numidians, perceiving themselves deserted by their confederates, fled in irretrievable confusion. The vanquished

* Claudian. de Bell. Gild. v. 389, &c. Orosius, lib. vii. c. 36.

despot threw himself into a ship and attempted to escape into Greece; but the wind proving contrary, the mariners were under the necessity of returning to the African shore, where he was immediately seized and committed to a dungeon. Aware of the insult and pains which awaited him, should he be delivered either to Mascezel or the Romans, he imitated the example of Firmus, and with his own hands put an end to his life.*

A. D 413. But Africa, at the troubled period now under our consideration, did not long enjoy the blessing of peace procured for it by the wise measures of Stilicho. The consternation occasioned by the invasion of the Goths had hardly passed away, when Heraclian, who presided over that province, displayed the standard of rebellion and assumed the title of emperor. Collecting a formidable army, which he conveyed across the Mediterranean in 3000 boats, he landed near the mouth of the Tiber, with the intention of proceeding to Rome; but, being met on the way by one of the imperial commanders at the head of an inferior force, he sustained a severe defeat, which compelled him to relinquish his hazardous enterprise. Upon returning to Carthage, he found that the whole country, disdaining his pretensions to a dignity to which his talents were unequal, had returned to their allegiance. He soon discovered, too, that the punishment of unsuccessful treason awaited him; he was condemned to be beheaded, and his fortune, amounting to nearly £200,000 of our money, was confiscated for the use of the public, or conferred upon his conqueror.†

* Zosimus, lib. v. Claudian, de Cons. Stilich. v. 357.
† Oros. lib. vii. c. 42. Zosim. lib. vi. Sozomen. lib. ix. c. 12.

A. D. 427. The time, however, was now fast approaching when the African provinces were to be lost to the Roman empire. Under the administration of Placidia, who directed the government of the West in the name of her son, Valentinian the Third, the safety of the commonwealth was sacrificed to the jealousy of two chiefs, Ætius and Bonifacius. The latter, whose conduct had been misrepresented at court, was recalled from his command; when, apprehensive that his life was in danger, he resolved upon the most desperate measures, in order to defeat the designs of his enemies. Not satisfied with arming the provincials and declaring his independence, he invited from Spain the aid of the Vandals, who, led by their king, the sanguinary Genseric, crossed the Straits and established their camp in Mauritania. His followers, who did not at first exceed 50,000, received a rapid augmentation of very active allies. The Moors, who had endured rather than acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome, seized with eagerness an occasion so favourable for abjuring it, as well as for gratifying their revenge on their ancient oppressors. Thousands of them issued from the neighbourhood of the Sahara, and the wilds of the mountain-range by which its northern limits are defined; and, regardless of future consequences as they might affect their native governments, placed themselves under the banners of the warlike prince who had vowed hostility to their enemies. An accession to his numbers was also obtained from the heretical Donatists, who had been recently expelled from the Catholic church, and subjected to severities little in harmony with the mild spirit of the Gospel. To these perse-

cuted fanatics, Genseric appeared in the light of a powerful deliverer, from whose zeal, not less opposed than their own to the orthodox faith, they might reasonably expect a repeal of those hateful edicts of which they had been made the victims. It admits not of any doubt, that the co-operation of these dissentients from the established creed contributed materially to the conquest of Africa; and that the loss of the most important province of the Western Empire was at least accelerated by the intolerant spirit which then prevailed among the dominant sect of Christians.*

A. D. 430. No sooner had Bonifacius discovered the fraud of his rival, than he deeply regretted the precipitance of which he had been guilty in inviting the alliance of the barbarians. But amidst the confusion and distress to which the province was already reduced, his repentance was unavailing; for, although Carthage and certain other Roman garrisons professed their readiness to obey the orders of Valentinian, the country at large was under the control of the Vandals, who could not be prevailed upon to relinquish their prey. Assembling the small band of veterans who still adhered to his standard, and such provincial troops as seemed worthy of his confidence, he resolved to make one effort to retrieve the bad effects of his error, by attacking Genseric in the field. A battle was fought, in which, though the count displayed equal courage and skill, he was worsted with considerable loss, and compelled to leave his defenceless territory to the rage of a savage conqueror.

The misery inflicted upon Northern Africa by

* Chronicles of Prosper and Idatius, quoted by Gibbon, chapter xxxiii.

the soldiers, and more especially by the native allies, of this celebrated leader, has been described in vivid colours by several writers, both ecclesiastical and civil. Seven fruitful provinces, it is said, were destroyed by these invaders. Wherever they met resistance, they put all to the sword; when a city was taken, its defenders were buried in its ruins; and where hidden wealth was suspected, torture was applied, without remorse, to both sexes and all ages. They took pleasure in effacing every mark of civilisation and improvement; rooting up trees, whether planted for use or for ornament, pulling down churches, and even slaughtering the inhabitants in order that their unburied bodies might infect the air, and spread still farther the ravages of mortality. It may well be believed, that the generous mind of Bonifacius was painfully distressed by beholding the ruin which he had occasioned, the rapid progress of which he was totally unable to repress. After the loss of the battle already mentioned, he retired into Hippo Regius, now called Bona, where he was instantly besieged by Genseric, who regarded him as the only obstacle to the fulfilment of all his wishes relative to Africa.*

The Vandals did not display, in the reduction of strongholds, the same military qualities which secured to them so many victories in the open plain; and hence, fourteen months were spent before any material impression was made on the walls or resources of Hippo. The wants of the garrison were

* Marmol. L'Afrique, tome ii. p. 434. He tells us that the Bona of modern geographers was formerly named Hippo: "On la nommoit autrefois Hippone, qui est sur la coste de la mer Mediterranée au golfe de Numidie."

supplied by sea; the sick were refreshed, and the wounded removed; while the besiegers, who relied exclusively upon the surrounding country for provisions, were occasionally compelled by the pressure of famine to relinquish their attempt. At length, a powerful army, composed as well of the troops of the East as of the West, debarked on the coast, with orders not only to relieve the count from the disgrace of a protracted blockade, but also to drive the barbarians from the province.

Bonifacius, finding himself at the head of a force at once so numerous and well appointed, resolved to give battle to his former ally; and with this intention he marched out against him into the neighbouring fields, where he made arrangements for a decisive conflict. The combatants met with equal eagerness,—the one to avenge the injuries which had been inflicted upon the property and reputation of the empire, the other to complete the subjugation of a country which he was determined to add to his numerous conquests. On this occasion, as well as on the former, the fortune of war declared in favour of the Vandals; the legions of Rome and the squadrons who followed Aspar from the shores of the Bosphorus, were scattered by the impetuous onset of the rude warriors of the North; and the Italian general, who no longer put any confidence in arms, fled to the ships with the remainder of his troops. It may not be unseasonable to remark, that the imperial lieutenant who, to fortify his private interests, invited a furious enemy into his government, fell in a skirmish with Ætius, who had originally poisoned his mind with suspicion, and drawn upon him the frown of the court.*

* Procopius De Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 3.

A. D. 431. After this distinguished success, the progress of the Vandals was more rapid and destructive than ever. But, as is usual in all such cases, Genseric soon discovered that the distracted state of the country, and the multitude of factions, whence he had derived so much advantage in his struggle with the Romans, would prevent him from consolidating his power as sovereign of Northern Africa. Influenced by such considerations, he entered into a treaty with the emperor, whereby he bound himself to cede that extensive region which constitutes the modern kingdoms of Morocco and Algiers, and was known to ancient history under the denomination of the Three Mauritanias. He perceived, in fact, that without a large maritime force he could not defend the whole line of coast extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the remotest bounds of Tripolis; and, accordingly, acting upon the most obvious political motives, he consented to relinquish a territory which it would have proved almost impossible for him to retain.

But his apparent moderation was only meant as a cloak to conceal his ambitious designs. He had fixed his eyes on Carthage, the Rome, as it was called, of the African kingdoms; and, while he permitted the subjects of Valentinian to occupy the western deserts, he pushed on with the determination to make himself master of the provincial capital. This celebrated city appears to have been taken by surprise; at least no details of siege or battle are supplied by the historians who record its fall; though there is in their statements the most perfect agreement as to the date of its overthrow, and the complete desolation by which it was accompanied.

In the year 439, being nearly six centuries after its destruction by Publius Emilianus Scipio, the colony and town of Dido became the booty of ignorant soldiers, whose maxim it was to live by their swords.*

The King of the Vandals, whatever might have been his private wishes, could not save from pillage the wealthy metropolis which had just fallen into his hands. After permitting his troops to enjoy the usual freedoms consequent upon a successful assault, he issued an edict, commanding all persons to deliver into the hands of certain officers their gold, silver, jewels, and other valuable effects; and, at the same time, giving an assurance, that the slightest attempt to conceal any part of their property would be punished with death, as an act of treason against the state. The lands, also, were measured with suitable care, that they might be divided among the triumphant warriors according to their respective rank or merits; Genseric reserving for his personal share the fertile domain of Byzacium, with the adjacent territory of Numidia and Getulia. It is impossible to measure the losses, sufferings, and privations, which the higher class of citizens were doomed to endure under the military despotism now imposed upon them by their conquerors. The Christian writers of that age, who witnessed the misery which they could not relieve, have deplored in eloquent terms the cruel persecutions directed against their orthodox brethren by the agents of the Arian prince. Regardless, or ignorant, perhaps, of the peculiar tenets which marked his creed, this tyrant viewed mere difference of opinion as a proof of insubordi-

* Procopius De Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 5.

nation, and as indicating that love of liberty which, on a favourable occasion, might instigate those who cherished it to undermine his regal power, or dispute his prerogative. His severities and intolerance filled Italy and even the Eastern Empire with exiles, who had no resource but the compassion of the public; and, although there may be some exaggeration in the narratives through which the main facts have reached our times, the most careless reader cannot fail to perceive that the triumphs of Genseric imposed a train of frightful calamities on the finest provinces of Northern Africa.

Actuated by the desire to render his conquest permanent, and also, perhaps, to extend its limits, the barbarian prince turned his attention to the equipment of a fleet. He had acquired, indeed, a rich and fertile territory; but he was aware that, as long as the Romans could command the Mediterranean, he must be constantly liable to a sudden attack, directed at pleasure against any part of his extensive coast. His resolution to create a naval power, in every point of view so essential to his security, was pursued with a steady perseverance. In the glens of Mount Atlas he found an inexhaustible supply of timber; and the inhabitants of the seaport-towns which he had lately reduced were acquainted with the art of shipbuilding. Nor was it long before a formidable armament was seen to issue from his harbours, prepared not only to protect their own shores, but even to carry terror to those of their enemy. Having no inducement to seek new lands or additional subjects among the tribes of the Desert, Genseric saw the possibility of increasing his treasures as well as his reputation by

making a descent on Italy itself. The death of Valentinian, which paralysed the Roman government, seemed to secure for his attempt the certainty of success; and accordingly, after due preparation, he boldly wafted an army of Vandals to the mouth of the Tiber.

A. D. 455. It is no part of our task to describe the sacking of Rome, nor to examine into the motives which led to that memorable catastrophe. The pillage, we are assured, lasted fourteen days and as many nights; and all that could be found of public or private wealth was eagerly conveyed to the ships of Genseric. Among the spoils, the splendid relics of two sanctuaries, or rather of two religions, exhibited an instructive example of the uncertainty of earthly things. Though paganism had been abolished, the statues of the gods and heroes were still respected; and the curious roof of gilt bronze which had once adorned the Capitol was reserved for the hands of this rapacious invader. The holy instruments of the Jewish worship,—the golden table, and the candlestick with seven branches, originally framed according to the particular instructions of God himself, had been ostentatiously displayed to the Roman people in the triumph of Titus. They were afterwards deposited in the Temple of Peace; and, at the end of 400 years, the plunder of Jerusalem was transferred from Rome to Carthage by the chief of a marauding army, who derived their origin from the shores of the Baltic.*

Genseric, although he gained an easy victory over the metropolis of the West, was too well acquainted

* Sidonius Panegyr. Avit. p. 441, &c. Procop. De Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 4, &c. Victor Vitens. De Persecut. Vandal. lib. i. c. 8.

with the resources which still remained to the empire to attempt a permanent conquest. He accordingly returned to Africa loaded with treasure, and accompanied by thousands of captives, comprehending some eminent individuals of both sexes, whom he distributed among his followers.

The success which had crowned the invasion of Italy could hardly fail to induce a repetition; and hence, about seven years later, a large fleet of Moors and Vandals approached the coast of Campania, where the crews, encountering little resistance, gratified their avarice and cruelty at the expense of the unprotected inhabitants. But, while thus employed, they were attacked by the imperial troops, who, after great slaughter, chased them to their ships,—a check which, though it rendered them more cautious in their movements, did not deter the leaders from renewing their depredations on the least-guarded parts of the extended shore.

It therefore became necessary for the safety of the commonwealth to attack the pirates in their own settlements, and if possible to root out that armed confederacy, which, despising industry and the arts, taught the people to make a trade of war, and live on plunder. Marjorian, who had now ascended the throne, possessed talents and spirit equal to such an enterprise; but he found not in the Roman youth a corresponding patriotism, and was obliged to recruit his legions among the barbarians who had spread themselves over Germany and along the banks of the Danube. Never was the sceptre of Genseric in greater hazard than when the emperor collected in the Bay of Carthagena a fleet of more than 300 large ships, with the usual proportion of

transports and smaller vessels, and was prepared to throw into his kingdom a host of warriors not less savage than those with whom they were about to engage. But treason saved the Vandals from a sanguinary invasion, and disappointed all the hopes of Marjorian. Guided by secret emissaries, the African admiral surprised the flotilla as it lay on the Spanish coast; and, setting it on fire, reduced the greater part to ashes and dispersed the remainder.*

Among the prisoners brought to Carthage after the fall of Rome, was Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, whose eldest daughter became the wife of Hunneric, the heir of the Vandal monarch. This connexion with the imperial family conveyed to the aged warrior a claim on Rome, which seemed to justify his incessant inroads upon its territory. In the spring of each year he equipped a formidable squadron in the most convenient ports, and conducted his designs with so much secrecy, that no one on board knew the destination of the ships until they had been some time at sea. "Leave the determination to the winds," replied the barbarian to his pilot, who asked whither he should steer; "they will conduct us to the guilty coast whose inhabitants have provoked the justice of Heaven." But on all occasions, Genseric, whose plans were regulated on a fixed principle, appeared to regard the possession of wealth as the most infallible token of the divine displeasure; for he never failed to direct his prows against those devoted shores where fertility and commercial riches promised the most abundant pillage.

A. D. 468. At length the fears or resentment of the

* Idatius, as quoted by Gibbon, c. xxxvi.

Eastern Empire gave birth to the resolution of delivering Italy and the Mediterranean from the grievous scourge to which they had been so long subjected by the new masters of the Barbary States. The armament fitted out by Leo, and which sailed from Constantinople to Africa, is described as consisting of more than 1100 vessels, having on board about 100,000 men. Basilicus, to whom the direction of the whole was confided, gained at first some advantages over his wily adversary, which supplied to the latter a sufficient apology for proposing a negotiation; while the imperial lieutenant, as if he had resolved to walk openly into the snare which was spread before him, suspended his operations and listened to terms. During the truce which ensued, Genseric had recourse to his usual expedient; he charged some of his largest ships with combustibles, and sending them, amidst the darkness of night, into the crowded lines of the enemy, completed their destruction, and thereby put an end to the campaign which had for its object the extinction of his kingdom. He again became undisputed master of the sea, and had the satisfaction to terminate his reign without being any more disturbed by the Romans either of the East or the West.*

A. D. 533. The weakness of the government in Italy was favourable to the growing power of the Vandals, who, during the lapse of more than half a century, encountered no foe by land or by water to whom they were not superior. But the accession of Justinian to the throne of the whole empire, of which the undivided authority had been conveyed to the city of Constantine, led to new efforts for the reco-

* Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 6. Zonoras, lib. xiv.

very of Africa, now so long severed from the imperial dominions. The sceptre of Genseric had already passed through his son Hunneric to his grandson Hilderic, who, being of a mild disposition and proving unfortunate in war, was dethroned by Gelimer, a chief possessing popular qualities and a high military reputation. The emperor, on this occasion, felt the influence of various motives, among which prevailed a feeling of respect for the degraded prince and resentment towards his oppressor; but it was not until after the most mature deliberation, that, yielding to the calls of honour and policy, he announced his determination to expel the usurper, and resume the protection of the province.*

To accomplish this object, so important to his own fame as well as to the stability of the empire, he made choice of the renowned Belisarius, who had gained many laurels in the Persian war, from which he was just returned. Nor were the preparations commanded by Justinian unworthy of the last contest between Rome and Carthage. Five hundred transports, navigated by 20,000 sailors, carried to the opposite shore of the Mediterranean an army still more formidable for its experience and discipline than for its numbers. Landing at the most convenient point, though at a considerable distance from the capital, the general impressed on the minds of his soldiers the necessity of cultivating the friendship of the natives, who, he assured them, were eager to throw off the yoke of the barbarians, and to submit to the milder dominion of the Roman emperor. The conduct of the people soon proved the justness of his anticipations. So far from concealing their per-

* Procop. lib. i. c. 9.

sons or their goods, they made haste to supply with provisions the camp of the invaders; and one town after another opened its gates to the imperial commander, who accepted their allegiance in the name of his august sovereign.

Belisarius, instructed by the misfortunes of those who, in the days of Genseric, had attempted the reduction of Africa, moved cautiously along the coast accompanied by his fleet, from which he could at all times receive assistance or supplies. The approach of the legions to Carthage filled the mind of the usurper with anxiety and fear; having sent part of his army for the reduction of Sardinia, while he had neglected to restore those fortifications by which the capital was at one time defended, and which, on the present occasion, would have enabled him to await with safety the concentration of his scattered forces. His military establishment was hardly inferior to that of the emperor; as he could command the services of more than 150,000 fighting-men. But he knew that the deposed king had still many friends, who, he could not conceal from himself, were more likely to augment the ranks of the invader than to oppose his progress. He therefore at first had recourse to the usual expedients for protracting the interval which might precede the main attack of his enemy; nor was it until he found that Belisarius could not be diverted from his object by treaty or conference, that he formed his plan for a general engagement. Dividing his troops into three portions, he intrusted to his brother a large body of foot, and to his nephew 2000 cavalry, placing himself at the head of his guards, with whom he hoped to make an impression on the centre of his

antagonists. But his skill and valour proved unequal to the chances of war and the discipline of the Romans. Before he was aware that the battle had begun, the best of his soldiers were either slain or compelled to save their lives by a tumultuous flight. He made a vigorous effort to retrieve the fortune of the day, before he would consent to turn his horse's head towards the Desert, the only stronghold to which he could retire.*

Steady to his purpose of revenge, he had previously given orders to take away the life of Hilderic, that the conquerors might not have the satisfaction of replacing him on the throne,—a disappointment which was amply compensated to Justinian, by finding the only obstacle removed that could have prevented him from assuming in his own person the sovereignty of the African province. The surrender of Carthage soon followed this decisive victory: the citizens, eager to receive the imperial deputy as the deliverer of their country, instantly opened their gates to his soldiers, and their harbour to his ships; and his entrance into the city, which had lately trembled under the despotic rule of Gelimer, was celebrated by a splendid festival. So gentle was the transition from the domination of the Vandals to the legitimate sway of the emperor, that the trade of the port was not interrupted; the shops continued open and busy; and the military, at the close of day, retired to their quarters, as if they had been the wonted garrison.

But the usurper, although beaten, was not yet entirely subdued; for such was the nature of the late conflict, that his army was rather scattered than

* Procop. lib. i. c., 21.

cut off; and as his followers had now no surer resource than war, they were not unwilling to second his endeavours for the recovery of his crown. The Moors, sympathizing in his misfortunes, or inflamed with the love of pillage, supplied him with some hardy recruits. The Arians, who foresaw in the success of Justinian the rejection of their creed by the African churches, flocked to his standard; and his brother Zano, who had reduced Sardinia, brought with him several thousand veterans, whose former triumphs had taught them to despise the degenerate Romans. Belisarius, who did not fail to watch the progress of events, was perfectly aware that the combined forces of the barbarian chiefs greatly outnumbered his own; and, consequently, that, in whatever conflict might ensue, his sole reliance must be placed in the superiority of his arms and discipline. Under this impression he encouraged the enemy to make an attack in the night; trusting that the darkness would at once conceal the disparity of the contending bodies, and aid his plan for throwing the Vandals into confusion. The result answered his expectation, though the victory was not purchased without great loss; the conquerors of Sardinia, under their brave leader, having repeatedly driven back the Roman cavalry, and fought hand to hand with the chosen guards of the imperial commander. Zano was found among the slain; but Gelimer once more departed from the field, where he left behind him all his power, and much of his former reputation., He outstripped the speed of some light troops, who were sent in pursuit of him; upon which, Belisarius, knowing that it would be vain to follow his rapid retreat into the fastnesses of

Mauritania, desisted from the attempt, and established his winter-quarters at Carthage.*

The expectations of the Roman general were not disappointed in regard to the effect of his mild policy on the temper of the Vandals. Finding themselves deserted by a leader who had seduced their affections from their lawful prince, they readily submitted to the government of a sovereign who appeared to advocate the claims of justice and humanity. All the cities comprehended in the modern states of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, acknowledged the authority of Justinian; while the power of his arms gradually extended as far as the town of Septem, the Ceuta of European geographers. Africa was accordingly divided into seven provinces, which were placed under the inspection of a Pretorian Prefect, who, in his civil capacity, enjoyed the assistance of a corresponding number of consulars and presidents, whose duty it was to administer the laws of the empire.

A. D. 534. The conquest of Barbary was soon completed by the surrender of Gelimer, who had taken refuge in a fortress situated on one of the Atlas mountains. After enduring a siege accompanied with more than the usual privations, the usurper yielded his person, on the conditions of having his life spared and a provision secured; though he was afterwards compelled to grace the triumph of Belisarius, when this hero entered Constantinople after the manner of Roman conquerors. But in other respects, the Vandal king had no reason to accuse the generosity of the emperor; for he was allowed an ample estate in a pleasant district of Asia Minor, where he

* Gibbon, chap. xliv.

spent the remainder of his days in comparative affluence and undisturbed repose.

From this period the descendants of the warlike barbarians, who followed the standard of Genseric from Spain into Africa, cease to occupy the attention of history as a separate people. Justinian, acting upon the usual maxim of a victorious state, induced the boldest and more generous of the Vandal youth to accept service in his army; and it is related, that five squadrons of horsemen, drawn from their best families, distinguished themselves by their bravery in the Persian wars. The lower classes, again, who soon found their opinions and habits exposed to another change of religion and government, mixed imperceptibly with the dominant population; and hence, except in the casual occurrence of fair complexions and yellow hair, which have met the eyes of recent travellers on the borders of the Desert, no evidence now remains of the memorable conquest effected by German tribes on the shores of Barbary.

The peace, which might have been expected to follow so many victories and the extinction of a warlike people, was soon interrupted by the restless spirit of the Moors, who thought themselves entitled to aspire to the eminence from which the subjects of Gelimer had been compelled to descend. During the decline of the Vandalic power, these migratory herdsmen had extended their range from the pastures of Mauritania to the towns on the sea-coast, and, in fact, had taken possession of the greater part of that fine district which stretches from the ocean to the neighbourhood of Algiers. Belisarius, by gratifying the vanity of their chiefs,

had, as long as his arms were employed against the Vandals, secured their neutrality; but no sooner did he set sail for Constantinople, than they mustered their bands and proceeded towards the capital. Solomon, to whom the command of the province was confided, made haste to meet them in the field; and, although his troops sustained a check when engaged with the outposts of the enemy, he renewed the attack with so much coolness and resolution, that he cut in pieces about 60,000 of their number. Pursuing his advantage, he followed them into the heart of their country, where, by reducing one of their strongest posts, he compelled them to sue for terms of accommodation.

A. D. 558. But Africa, meanwhile, was rapidly sinking back into the state of barbarism from which it had been raised by the Phœnicians and Romans; and every step of intestine discord was marked by the triumph of savage man over the institutions of civilized society. The Moors, who had succeeded to the quarrels of the Vandals not less surely than to their lands, showed themselves still more impatient of the restraint imposed by law, and the oppressions which seemed to attend the collection of the revenue. An act of treachery, perpetrated by one of the nephews of Solomon, inflamed their resentment, and once more drove them to open rebellion. A battle ensued, in which the prefect was slain, after losing the greater part of his army; though the victory, achieved by the insurgents at an immense waste of life, failed to establish their power. Many of their bravest leaders had perished in the conflict, while the arrival of fresh troops and skilful commanders soon secured for the imperial

cause the ascendency which for a moment appeared to be in danger. But, it has been truly observed, the successes and defeats of Justinian were alike pernicious to mankind; and such was now the desolation of the African provinces, that in many parts a stranger might wander whole days without meeting the face either of a friend or an enemy. The nation of the Vandals, as has just been noticed, had already disappeared, though they once amounted to 600,000 individuals, and could boast of being able to equip for the field 150,000 warriors. The number of Moorish families extirpated during their several insurrections was still greater; while, on the other hand, the Romans with their allies sustained, from the ravages of the climate and the fury of the barbarians, an extent of loss not much inferior to that which their antagonists had to bewail. When Procopius, the annalist of these destructive wars, first landed, he admired the populousness of the cities and country, successfully employed in the labours of commerce and agriculture. In less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted into a silent solitude; the more wealthy escaped to Sicily and Constantinople; and it has been confidently affirmed, that 5,000,000 of the natives were consumed by disease, famine, and the sword, during the reign of the Emperor Justinian.*

A.D. 647. A state of inactivity, the effect of weakness and disunion, had continued nearly 100 years, when the mixed inhabitants of Northern Africa were roused, as if from a slumber, by the Saracens under Abdallah, the lieutenant of the Caliph Othman. At

* Procop. Anec. c. 18, quoted by Gibbon, chap. xliii. See also Procop. De Bell. Vandal. lib. ii. c. 19, &c.

the head of 40,000 armed men, he advanced from Egypt into the wilderness of Barca,—a stranger to all parts of the vast continent which stretched out before him, or only knowing that there were extensive lands to conquer and numerous tribes to subdue. After a fatiguing march, the privations of which were somewhat lightened by the use of the camel, he found himself in presence of an enemy near the walls of Tripoli. Preferring the chance of a battle to the delay of a siege, the disciple of Mohammed marshalled his troops and awaited the attack of the Greeks, who were led by the Prefect Gregory. A conflict of long duration and various fortune terminated in a decisive victory in favour of the invaders. The Grecian general fell in the action; his daughter, who fought by his side, was taken prisoner; and a large proportion of the wealth which still remained in the wasted province rewarded the valour of the Arabians. But such a victory was not gained without a heavy loss, which, being still farther aggravated by the inroads of a pestilential disease, Abdallah found it expedient to relinquish his conquests, and to fall back upon the Nile.*

A. D. 680. The dissensions which distracted the caliphate secured for the Barbary States a period of doubtful repose; during which, it should seem, the provincials were doomed to suffer as severely from the legal exactions of their European governors as from the forced tribute of the Mohammedan princes. Akbah, a brave commander, was accordingly sent by the ruler of the Moslem to reclaim the ground which their arms had gained; and, in this instance, their

* Vie de Mahomet par Gagnier, tome iii. p. 45. Leo African. p. 585. Edit. 1632.

progress was facilitated by the good wishes of the people, whose afflictions had rendered them indifferent to national fame, religion, and lineage. Meeting with little resistance, he marched through Mauritania, driving the natives before him, till at length he reached the borders of the Desert and the shores of the Atlantic. He made himself master also of the chief towns on the ocean, as well as the coast of the Mediterranean, and had, as he imagined, completed the subjection of the whole country, when intelligence was conveyed to him that the inhabitants of the eastern districts were in a state of open revolt. He hastened to quell the insurrection, but lost his life and army in the attempt. His successor, Zobeir, shared the same fate; for, after earning many laurels as a commander of the faithful, he was overthrown by a powerful armament sent from the Grecian capital.*

The invasion of Akbah was rendered memorable by the foundation of Kairwan or Cairoan, a town of which the remains are still found about fifty miles south from Tunis, and twelve from the sea. His object was to give birth to an Arabian colony in a retired part of the province, where his countrymen might find a refuge against the accidents of war, and in which they might place their families and booty during the labours of a campaign. A wall of brick surrounded the rising capital, which was afterwards decorated with a governor's palace, a mosque sup-

* Ockley, History of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 129. Morgan has collected numerous "testimonies" of the pride, insolence, and avarice of the Romans, and ascribes their loss of Africa to their insupportable tyranny, p. 162. See also Salvianus de Providentia, lib. iv., and Procopius, De Bello Gothico, lib. iii.

ported by 500 columns of granite and marble, and several schools of learning.*

A. D. 698. A few years before the close of the seventh century, Hassan, the viceroy of Egypt, was ordered to attack Carthage, and subject the whole of the surrounding country to the religion and authority of the caliph. But he had hardly reduced the metropolis of Africa, when a large force arrived from Constantinople, which compelled him to retire to Kairwan, the town whose origin has just been described. The issue of a battle, however, again put the city of Dido into his hands; and a second engagement, which took place near Utica, proved so disastrous to the Greeks, that they fled to their ships, and finally relinquished the country.

A. D. 699. The Moors having witnessed, not without secret satisfaction, the discomfiture and retreat of those haughty conquerors, resolved to secure for their own use the territory which their forefathers had allowed to be wrested from their hands. This people, who, when the Roman empire possessed its early power, were feeble or unresisting, had gradually become formidable after the seat of government was transferred to the East; and now, when the imperial troops were expelled in disgrace, they thought themselves sufficiently strong to oppose with success the victorious bands of the Saracens. Assembling their tribes under the standard of Cahina, whom they reverenced at once as a prophetess and

* Leo African. p. 575. "Cairaoan sive alio nomine Caroen nobilissimum oppidum conditorem habuit Hucba—a Mediterraneo mare xxxvi. a Tuneto verum centum fere abest milliaribus, neque aliam ob causam conditum fuisse dicunt quam ut in eo exercitus cum omni præda Barbaris atque Numidis adempta, securè se continere possent."

a sovereign, they attacked the veterans of Hassan with such enthusiastic fury, that he was unable to keep his ground, and at length had the mortification of seeing his old soldiers turn their backs before a horde of barbarians conducted by a woman. He withdrew into Egypt, where he waited for a reinforcement, with which he still hoped to recover Africa, and to annex it permanently to the dominions of the caliph. Nor was it long before the extravagance of the Moorish queen enabled him to realize his expectations. The Moslem returned; gained an easy victory over her disorderly and fanatical bands; and, as she herself fell in the first battle, her followers made but a slight effort to maintain the cause of independence, the love of which had carried them into the field.

From this epoch, Northern Africa may be regarded as a section of the great Mohammedan empire. The successor of Hassan, who trusted not less to the Koran than the sword, laboured so successfully to make proselytes to the creed of Islamism, that he had the satisfaction to see the people gradually reconciled to the divine authority of the prophet and to the justice of his arms. Thirty thousand of the young men were enlisted in his service; and the similarity of habits between the Arab in the Desert and the Moor in the Sahara soon obliterated whatever distinction each might have been disposed to maintain. If the Berbers, according to their own tradition, originally issued from that eastern peninsula which is washed by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, their relationship to their conquerors could not be called in question; and, at all events, at the present day, every shade of difference, whe-



Moorish Artisan and Female.

ther in blood or religion, has entirely disappeared, except such as may have been perpetuated by the pursuits of active life. The shepherds, who still follow the customs of their ancestors, display peculiarities which do not belong to the artisans who seek a subsistence in large towns; but there is not either in their complexion or features any characteristic which may not be confidently ascribed to their occupation and manners. The foregoing plate presents a faithful likeness of a Moor in the class of society to which he belongs, accompanied by a female in the costume of her rank and sex.

During the ascendency of the Mussulmans in Africa, the capital of their dominions was Kairwan,

the city built by Akbah, where their viceroys usually had their abode, and whence they extended their cares to the government of the western provinces and even of Spain. At this period the Arabs occupied the principal towns along the coast, both because they might be called upon to defend them against the fleets of Constantinople and the corsairs of the opposite shores, and also because it was not yet thought expedient to dispute with the Moors the possession of those lands between the sea and the Desert which had descended to them as an inheritance, or fallen into their hands as a conquest. Even these precautions did not prevent a succession of bloody wars waged by the old inhabitants against the regular troops, whose duty it was to repress their ravages as they issued from the defiles of Mount Atlas.

A.D. 800. About the 184th year of the Hegira, the celebrated prince, Haroun al Raschid, the fifth of the Abbassides, intrusted to Ibrahim ibn Aglab the government of Africa. This ambitious captáin soon threw off his allegiance, assumed the supreme power in his own person, and laid the foundation of a dynasty, the Beni Aglab or Aglabites, which continued during eleven successions and more than 100 years. Rostam, who was sent to restore the authority of the caliph, so far forgot his duty as to follow the example of his predecessor, and seized certain provinces, which he converted into an independent kingdom. Nearly at the same epoch, the remainder of the Barbary States, including the whole of the Tingitana, became the prey of Edris, a descendant of Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed; and, in this way, no part of Africa, with the single

exception of Egypt, acknowledged fealty to the successor of the prophet. Edris is venerated by the natives of Mauritania as the founder of Fez,—of that part of it, at least, which is now denominated the Old City.

A. D. 909. The rise of the Fatimites, in the person of Al Mahadi, suppressed for a time all the other dynasties of the West. He assumed the title of caliph, and governed Africa with a rod of iron; making also several attempts to add Egypt to his dominions, in one of which he reduced the city of Alexandria. His grandson Moez, who succeeded in conquering the rich valley of the Nile, removed the seat of his government to Cairo, where, claiming the honours due to the successor of their great apostle, and commanding his name to be introduced into the public prayers of the mosque, he inflicted upon his church the scandal of a schism.

When he left Barbary, he consigned the charge of the provincials to Yussuf ibn Zeiri, who, asserting the independence of that fine country, gave rise to a dynasty of princes, who figure in the Spanish histories under the corrupt appellation of Zegris. This family, there is reason to believe, enjoyed royal power in the territory of Algiers down to the year 1148, when the last sovereign of their race was killed in battle by the forces of Roger, king of Sicily and Calabria, who, in their progress to the Holy Land, were induced by a feeling of revenge to debark on the African coast.

When Moez was on the throne of Egypt, he gave permission to an immense multitude of Arabs to pass through that country on their way to Barbary; whither they carried with them a great number of

camels, the first which were naturalized in the northern parts of the continent. It is said that no fewer than 50,000 warriors accompanied this emigration, who, as they went to seek new lands for their flocks and herds, produced a deep impression on the whole province, and effected a material change in the distribution of property. Leo Africanus relates that they took Tripoli, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword; destroyed Capes, in the neighbourhood of Tunis; and next attacked Kairwan, the metropolis of the Saracenic princes, in the sack of which they were guilty of the greatest inhumanities. They soon overran all the plain country, and penetrated into many parts of the Southern Numidia; for, like their countrymen at home, being generally mounted on fleet horses, they evaded the pursuit of the Moors, who were more accustomed to fight on foot. It is from these families of Arabs, whom Moez encouraged to pass the Red Sea, that the wandering tribes have sprung, who still employ the camel in the African deserts, and follow the nomade life at once as shepherds and merchants. The Saracens who followed the standard of Akbah count themselves more noble than the hordes just described, not only because these last remained longer ignorant of the orthodox faith, but also because they have stained the purity of their descent by intermixture with foreign nations.

A. D. 1148. It would be equally tedious and fruitless to trace the history of the several dynasties which, during the weakness of the caliphate, rose and disappeared in Barbary. The Almohades and Almoravides lay claim, perhaps, to some attention, from their intercourse with the Moslem princes, who at that period

occupied a large portion of the Spanish peninsula. The latter, who revived for a time the spirit of the Mohammedan creed, found their efforts crowned with great success, and, in fact, extended their conquests into the south and west, which they were also able to retain during the lapse of nearly a hundred years.

But the events which follow upon the commencement of the thirteenth century will enter with better effect into the narrative which respects the Barbary States, taken separately; the condition, indeed, in which they naturally present themselves to the view of the reader after the fall of the dynasty founded by Abu Beker, and the suspension of the general government under the descendants of the prophet. To this part of our undertaking we shall return, so soon as we have taken a brief review of the religion and literature of Northern Africa, from the dawn of history down to the date of its conquest by the Arabian Mussulmans.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Religion and Literature of the Barbary States.*

The Religion and Literature vary with the successive Inhabitants —Superstition of the Natives—Human Sacrifices continued by the Carthaginians—Worship of Melcarth, Astarté, and Baal—No sacred Caste or Priesthood—Religious Rites performed by the Chief Magistrates—Introduction of Christianity—Accomplished by the Arms of Rome—Different Opinions as to the Date of Conversion and the Persons by whom it was effected—Statements of Salvian and Augustin—Learning and Eloquence of the African Clergy, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and the Bishop of Hippo—Works of these Divines—Death of Cyprian and Augustin—The Writings of the Latin Fathers chiefly valuable as a Record of Usages, Opinions, and Discipline—Church revived under Justinian—Invasion of the Moslem—Christian Congregations permitted to exist under the Mohammedan Rulers—Conditions of Toleration—Africans gradually yield to the Seducements of the new Faith, and the Gospel is superseded by the Koran—Barbary States the only Country where Christianity has been totally extinguished—Attempt made to restore it by the Patriarch of Alexandria—Five Bishops sent to Kairwan—Public Profession of the Gospel cannot be traced after the Twelfth Century—A few Christians found at Tunis in 1533—Learning of the Arabs—Great Exertions of Almamoun—He collects Greek Authors, and causes them to be translated—He is imitated by the Fatimites of Africa—Science cultivated by the Mohammedans Five Hundred Years—Their chief Studies were Mathematics, Astronomy, and Chemistry—Their Progress in Chemical Researches—Neglect Literature, properly so called—Prospect of Improvement from the Settlement of European Colonies in Northern Africa.

The religion and learning of the Barbary States will be found to vary with the several races of men by whom they have been successively occupied since

the era of the Phœnicians; the original inhabitants having left no record of their opinions, either in regard to the material world, or to those more lofty objects which interest the belief and the imagination. The ancient Getulians, it is probable, like their neighbours of the Desert, had no literature; while, as to faith and worship, they may be supposed to have shared in that universal superstition which connects the veneration of mankind with those physical manifestations which accompany the periodical production and decay of all organized forms. The energies of nature, whether displayed in the firmament or in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, associate themselves in the rude mind with certain emblems which are conceived to have some affinity to the immaterial principle whence the source of all events has its rise; and this association, however arbitrary or remote, confers upon the meanest things a relative sanctity, by which they seem to become, not only worthy of respect, but also of a species of religious confidence and trust.

Hence the origin of *fetichism;* the notion that a piece of wood or a polished stone may be the seat of an invisible power, and which may be described as a species of Pantheism, common to every climate at a particular stage of civilisation. Every object endowed with qualities, fitted either to bestow a signal benefit or to inflict a serious injury, was regarded as the abode or the instrument of a mysterious agent, whose divinity might be propitiated by attention or offended by neglect. Taken by itself, this simple belief may be viewed as nothing more than the parent of ridiculous usages and absurd apprehensions, being a stranger to those bloody rites

which have been sometimes engrafted upon it by the priests of a darker superstition, who demand for their gods the most horrible sacrifices.

The Tyrian colonists who followed their exiled princess to Carthage had been accustomed in their own land to witness the frightful spectacle of human bodies laid upon the altars of their demons. The worship of Moloch, which prevailed among all the Aramæan nations, was not unknown on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; and, in all parts of the world, the same barbarous immolations were practised by the votaries of this idol, who condemned to the fire or the knife the noblest children in their land. In times of peace and tranquillity, the offspring of slaves were substituted for the heirs of more distinguished families; but when pestilence or an unsuccessful war afflicted the state, victims were selected from the highest ranks, and consigned to a cruel death. Diodorus relates that the Carthaginians, finding themselves oppressed by the arms of Agathocles, turned their thoughts to the cares of religion; and, suspecting that undue substitutions had taken place in the choice of human sacrifices, ordered 200 children of exalted birth to be offered up without delay. Nor was this held enough to appease the anger of the god, and to retrieve the fortunes of the republic; on which account, 300 individuals, whose consciences accused them of neglect in their pious duties, presented their bodies also, in order to make a fuller atonement for the sins of the people. On such occasions, the nearest relative was not allowed to shed a tear, lest the offering should be thereby rendered unacceptable.*

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. c. 14.

The subjects of Dido appear to have also worshipped a tutelar deity, denominated Melcarth,—King of the City,—who exhibited some of the features of the Baal, the sun-god, whom the Greeks and Romans identified with their Hercules; and there is no doubt that Astaroth, or Astarté, the emblem of increase, was adored by the Carthaginians with ceremonies corresponding to her attributes.* But what objects or powers of nature were originally represented by these beings, or rather appellations, it is not of any consequence to determine. It is clear, at the same time, that this religion, if such it might be called, was patronised by the commonwealth, and, in fact, became a part of the government. There was, however, no distinct order of priests or sacred caste in Carthage, as there was in Egypt; nor are there any usages whence we might conclude that sacerdotal functions were hereditary in certain families, who, on that account, were possessed of dignity and emolument. But it is not less certain that the duties of the priesthood were discharged by the highest persons in the country, and had outward marks of honour attached to them; so that some of the more important of these appointments were deemed not unworthy the sons of their kings. Indeed, the weightiest affairs of the nation were so intimately connected with religious ceremonies, that it seems probable the magistrates were also invested with the chief of the sacerdotal offices, and directed the zeal of the people on all great occasions. The generals, too, were authorized to offer sacrifice even during the time of battle; while

* I should prefer the derivation of Melcarth מלך ארח, King of the Way, meaning the zodiac, or solar path.

prophets accompanied the armies, without whose advice the most popular commander was not free to act. All the great enterprises, moreover, of their forces, by land and sea, their treaties with foreign princes, and their accessions of territory, were recorded in the principal temples. Again, no distant settlement was ever planted without the addition of a sanctuary, to connect the colony with the parent state, and whence missions were occasionally sent, with the view of perpetuating the connexion between the sacred metropolis and her affiliated dependencies.*

Among the native authors none stand so high in point of literary reputation as Juba, the king of Mauritania, who appears to have inherited a large share of the knowledge possessed by the Carthaginians. Availing himself of the annals left by that enterprising people, he is understood to have written at some length on the civil and natural history of Africa; but, as his works are entirely lost, we can only judge of their merits from certain references made to them by Pliny, in his chapter on the geography of the Barbary States.

This learned Roman, on the authority of the Mauritanian prince, attempts to delineate the courses of the Niger and the Nile,—an undertaking which, though unattended with any degree of success, serves at least to mark the limits of ancient inquiry with regard to these celebrated rivers. The naturalist, it is manifest, confounded some lakes and streams on the western coast of Morocco, not only with the sources of the Joliba, but even with one of the

* Heeren, vol. i. p. 142.

main branches of the Egyptian Nile; thereby leading his readers to suppose that the army of Cornelius Balbus, after crossing the Great Desert, had actually visited the banks of the mysterious current whose outlet into the Atlantic has been recently discovered.

Nor was the curiosity of Juba confined to the African continent. In his times, some conjectures had reached the ears of the learned respecting those islands which lie scattered in the great ocean at various distances from the land; and in which were imagined to be assembled all the beauty and delights incident to their happy climate, and all the felicities that ever fall to the lot of man upon earth. Of these fortunate isles he had ascertained the names of six, which, though they do not precisely coincide with those recorded by Ptolemy and Sebosus, belong unquestionably to the same group.*

Long prior to the days of this monarch, literature flourished under the most favourable auspices on the eastern section of the Barbary coast. As the Cyrenaica was originally occupied by colonies from Greece, it is hardly necessary to remark, that its towns were distinguished as seats of learning and philosophy. That favoured district gave birth to Aristippus, the founder of a well-known sect, to Callimachus, Eratosthenes, Anniceris, Carneades, Synesius, and several other writers, who hold a prominent place in the annals of wisdom, genius, and industry.

The doctrines of the Cyrenaic school, originating with Aristippus, were not a little singular, particu-

* Plinii Histor. Natural. lib. v. p. 66. Juba Ptolemæi pater, qui primus utrique Mauritaniæ imperavit, studiorum claritate memorabilior etiamque regno.

larly when carried to the extent to which they were pushed by Carneades. They so far resembled the tenets of Epicurus as to identify virtue with happiness; proceeding on the ground that no action or sentiment can be esteemed good which does not conduce to the gratification, or at least to the well-being of mankind. The disciple of Aristippus adopted these notions in their fullest import; and introduced, moreover, those interminable speculations which respect the basis of human belief on questions of ethics, and the foundations of knowledge when applied even to physical science. Like Pyrrho, he denied that the perception of external things is real or immediate; and, of course, that outward objects have any other existence, or rather can be proved to have any other existence, than what they borrow from the mind of him who contemplates them. Hence he was led to teach, that it is the part of a truly wise man to persist in doubt, and to secure for himself an entire suspension of the determining faculties. But, as these opinions belong to the theories of the Grecian schools, rather than to the native genius of Africa, it will be held sufficient to have thus briefly alluded to them.

The introduction of the Gospel effected a great and most beneficial change in the habits of the people as well as in the pursuits of the higher orders. Rome, by her arms, had opened a path for the Christian missionaries into all the northern shores of Africa, from the mouth of the Nile to the vicinity of Algiers; and the blessings of the new faith were accordingly enjoyed in most of the principal cities of that province, before they could make their way across the Alps into Gaul and Germany. This happy

result was facilitated by the intercourse which the Jews maintained between Syria and Asia Minor, on the one hand, and the thriving towns of the Pentapolis and the Carthaginian states, on the other, —a fact which is finely illustrated by a reference in the Book of Acts, where, among the strangers at Jerusalem who witnessed the triumph of Christianity over the prejudices of education, are mentioned "dwellers in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene." In truth, numbers of Hebrews appear to have settled in the Cyrenaica long prior to the reign of Augustus. As a proof of this, besides the fact already mentioned, we find that some of them took part with their Alexandrian brethren in disputing against the first martyr, St Stephen; while converted Jews of Cyprus and Cyrene, fleeing from the persecution raised by the adherents of the Mosaical Law, were the first preachers of the new faith to the Grecians of Antioch. It has, indeed, been remarked, that the inhabitants of this part of the empire derived their knowledge of the true religion from the same source which had diffused among them the language, the sentiments, and the manners of Italy. In these important circumstances, Africa was indeed gradually fashioned to the imitation of the capital; and, in respect to the reception of the Gospel, it displayed much more ardour than the districts which stretch along the Rhine, though the latter were benefited by a more frequent intercourse. The Christians in Barbary soon formed one of the principal sections of the primitive Church; while the practice of appointing bishops to the most inconsiderable towns, contributed to increase the importance of their religious societies.

There prevails among ecclesiastical historians no small discrepancy of opinion as to the precise period at which our religion was introduced into Africa,—a difference which may perhaps be explained by suggesting that what was true with respect to one part of the coast might not be strictly applicable to the whole. Salvian, on the one hand, maintains that the Church of Carthage was actually founded by the Apostles themselves; while Petilianus, on the other, asserts that the Africans were the last people in the empire to receive the truth. Dorotheus and Nicephorus relate that Simon Zelotes preached the faith in Mauritania, where he also enjoyed the assistance of St Peter in these pious labours; adding, that Epænetus, one of the Seventy, was about the same time appointed Bishop of Carthage. But Augustin, a much better authority, positively declares that his countrymen received the saving doctrines from the Romans, who sent missionaries across the Mediterranean to confer upon their colonists the two great blessings of a sound belief and a taste for learning. Whatever doubts there may be as to the period when the glad tidings were first conveyed to the Barbary shores, there can be none with regard to their rapid and extensive promulgation, wherever the legions pitched their camp or could maintain the authority of law. Were we to estimate the number of Christians by that of the highest order of clergy, we should, perhaps, greatly exceed the real amount; and yet there appears good reason to conclude that a large portion of the inhabitants, before the middle of the fourth century, had ranged themselves under the banners of the Cross. Even after the slaughter perpetrated

by the Vandals, the bishop of the capital, whose name was Reparatus, presided in a council in which were assembled no fewer than 217 prelates. Persecution had not materially thinned their numbers; for, to use the phrase of an eloquent author, the more they were cut down, the more abundantly did they spring up.*

The African province was celebrated for the great learning and eloquence of its divines, long before Christianity became the established religion of Rome. The names of Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and Augustin, still reflect honour upon her schools; and there are others less orthodox in their opinions, whose memories will be preserved in connexion with certain theological speculations which owe to them either a beginning or a marked degree of countenance. The first of the divines now mentioned, after studying law, became a presbyter at Carthage, and was highly esteemed as a writer of great genius, as well as a complete master of the Latin tongue. His piety, though ardent, did not escape the austerity and moroseness which began to cloud the age to which he belonged; nor did his zeal protect him from the inroads of those heresies which had already disturbed the belief of the East and the West, especially the absurd notions of Montanus.

Cyprian, the renowned bishop of Carthage, had, in his own person, sufficient learning and talent to distinguish any community. He was, it must not be concealed, characterized by a certain severity of wisdom which frequently created opposition, and gave birth to disputes, whence arose to himself,

* "Plures efficimur quoties metimur a vobis, semen est sanguis Christianorum."—Tertulliani Apologet.

as well as to others, much contumely and suffering. His works, a large portion of which still remain, place him unquestionably at the head of the Latin fathers, whether we take into consideration the importance of his subjects or the ability with which they are handled. They breathe, at the same time, such an elevated spirit, that it is impossible to read them without partaking of the enthusiasm which must have inspired the mind of the author. It has, indeed, been remarked, that he would have been a better writer had he been less attentive to the ornaments of rhetoric; and a better bishop, had he been able to restrain the vehemence of his temper, and to distinguish with greater acuteness between evangelical truth and that which only bore the semblance of it.

When the second persecution was raised against the Christians, under the Emperor Valerian, this prelate was summoned to appear before the proconsul of Carthage, by whom, when he had refused to sacrifice to idols, he was condemned to be banished. He was sent to a little town, then called Curebis, about fifty miles from the capital, where he was treated with great kindness by the natives, and frequently visited by the more faithful adherents of the Church. Orders having been received by the imperial lieutenant to take away his life, Cyprian was seized by a band of soldiers and conducted to the city. His answers to the usual questions respecting his faith soon established the charge urged against him of believing in the Gospel; upon which Galerius Maximus, who at that time exercised the government, pronounced upon him the sentence of death. No sooner were the words uttered than the

martyr exclaimed, "God be praised!" He was then led to the place of execution, where he suffered with great firmness and constancy,—sealing with his blood the truths which he had taught, and in which he exhorted others to repose their confidence.

The writings of this distinguished confessor are held in high esteem, for this reason, among others, that they are capable of being usefully quoted in supporting the doctrines and discipline of the Church. His letters are particularly valuable, not only as presenting the chief incidents of his life, but also as supplying some valuable materials for ecclesiastical history. The third century has not transmitted to us any account which delineates so clearly the spirit, the taste, the discipline, and the habits of the great community of believers.

Lactantius, who for the elegance of his style was called the Christian Cicero, was celebrated as a professor of rhetoric before he was intrusted with the education of Crispus, a son of the Emperor Constantine. His "Divine Institutions" do honour to his zeal as a member of the Church, and entitle his name to a prominent place in the history of Africa. A more popular treatise, written by him on the "Death of Persecutors," manifests the great interest which he took in the cause of the Gospel, and also communicates a variety of facts connected with the biography of the leading men of those remote ages, which might otherwise have been lost to our ecclesiastical records. When opposed to writers who took the field in defence of paganism, the African orator never fails to gain a triumph; but, it must be added that, when he undertook the office of an expositor of Sacred Scripture, he adopted too freely

the principles which he had condemned in his Gentile antagonists.

But among the divines whom Africa produced during the third and fourth centuries, none holds a higher place than Augustin. This learned man was born at Tagasta, and pursued his studies at Carthage; in which city, both his morals and his theological opinions received so deep a taint, that it was long before his character rose to the reputation which the voice of the Church has ever since conferred upon him. He allowed himself in early life to become a convert to the doctrines of Manes, which, it has been suspected by able writers, were afterwards engrafted upon his speculations when labouring to systematize the several books of the inspired volume. It is true that he openly abjured all connexion with the Persian school, and even employed his great talents in exposing their principal tenets; but it is manifest, nevertheless, that, in supporting his peculiar views on predestination and grace, he condescended to use arguments more closely allied to the sect whom he had abandoned, than to the gospels which he meant to illustrate or recommend. His zeal against the Pelagians, with whom he had successfully contended, carried him towards those extremes which characterized his conclusions on the disputed articles of freewill, election, and original sin.

Being raised to the office óf bishop at Hippo Regius, the modern Bona, he had soon an opportunity of displaying the steadfastness of his belief and the firmness of his character. When Genseric, at the head of his Vandals, had overrun the greater part of the province, he met with a determined resistance at the episcopal city just named, which he there-

fore resolved to level with the dust. When consulted by the Christians, whether they ought to provide for their safety by flight, or to await the onset of the barbarians, he decided in favour of the latter, as more becoming their duty; and, when the place was actually invested, he encouraged his flock, as well by his example as by his eloquent discourses, to defend themselves against the fierce heretics who threatened at once their lives and the purity of their faith. Dreading, however, that he himself might fall into the hands of the exasperated enemy, he is said to have prayed that he might be relieved by death before the means of defence should be exhausted; and it is well known that his desires in this respect were gratified, for he was gently removed, in the third month of the siege, from the frightful calamities which impended over his country.

When the city was destroyed by the soldiers of Genseric, the library of Augustin was saved from the flames. In it were found his own writings, comprehending no fewer than 230 separate treatises on theological subjects, an exposition of the Psalms, and a great number of homilies. The learning of this prelate appears to have been confined to the Latin language; the most competent critics never having been able to discover in his works any tokens of an intimate acquaintance with Greek. His style, too, though inspired with the eloquence of passion, is not unfrequently clouded by a false and affected rhetoric, the vice of the age in which he lived, not less than of the country to which he owed his birth. But, notwithstanding these disadvantages, his fame has filled the whole Christian world; and not without reason, as a variety of great and

shining qualities were, no doubt, united in his character. A lofty genius, a zealous pursuit of truth, an indefatigable application, a sincere piety, and no small skill in the art of composition, contributed to establish his reputation upon the most lasting basis. It is, indeed, admitted, that the accuracy of his judgment was by no means in proportion to the eminent talents now mentioned, and that upon many occasions he was more guided by the impulse of a warm imagination than by the dictates of wisdom and prudence. Hence that ambiguity which appears in so many of his tracts, and which sometimes renders the most attentive reader uncertain with respect to his real sentiments. Hence also the just complaints which have been made of the contradictions so frequent in his volumes, and of the eagerness which he shows to dilate upon subjects before he has made himself master of their different bearings. His theological dogmas, as is known to every one, were some centuries afterwards adopted by the powerful mind of Calvin, who gave to them that harmony and mutual dependence in which consists their greatest strength.

During this period the literature of the Western Empire was still preferred to that of the Greeks, who, prior to the conquest of the Vandals, had only a very slight intercourse with any part of Africa westward of the promontory of Cárthage. For this reason, the works of the Christian Fathers, whose names we have just rehearsed, present little that is truly valuable, either in the form of criticism on the language of the Sacred Scriptures, or of doctrinal exposition. Their chief importance, therefore, will be found to consist in the record they exhibit of the

usages, opinions, and discipline of the Church in those early times, when as yet there were no secular motives to give a colour to innovation, or to withdraw the minds of the faithful from the standard of belief and practice left by the Apostles, whose authority was still so recent.

Science as yet was very little cultivated by the divines of Africa. It was reserved for the Arabs to transplant into that country the mathematical knowledge of the Grecian sages, as well as the several hypotheses in relation to the physical laws of the universe, which had been inherited by the countrymen of Thales, Parmenides, and Aristotle. The attention of the learned, from the reign of Domitian down to the fall of the Western Empire, was confined almost exclusively to the accomplishments of rhetoric and declamation; pursuits, the effects of which may still be traced in the debasement of their style, and the general corruption of taste. Poetry and the fine arts were neglected, if we except sculpture, the aid of which was occasionally required to complete the magnificence of public buildings.

The prosperity and confidence secured to the African provincials by the victories of Justinian were enjoyed by the Church, which, when relieved from the apprehension of external enemies, directed her cares to the purification of her doctrines, and the necessary reforms of discipline. No remarkable event occurs in her history till the rise of Mohammedanism, when the barbarians of the Arabian deserts issued forth to establish the religion of their prophet; offering to the civilized world the choice of conversion, tribute, or death. As the generals of the caliph had to encounter a resolute opposition on

the part of the imperial troops, and made but slow progress in reducing the principal towns, the Christians were able to maintain their faith long after the greater portion of the Barbary States had submitted to the Moslem. We find, accordingly, that at the distance of 200 years from the invasion of Akbah, a number of congregations continued to exercise the rites of the Gospel in different quarters of the province. Many of the natives, Moors or Berbers, had been admitted by baptism into the rank of believers; and these, though they did not appreciate very highly the doctrines they professed, would not yield them at once to the haughty conquerors.

The existence of a Christian Church in Barbary, so long after the domination of the Saracens was established, may be partly ascribed to the toleration which those fanatics were permitted to exercise beyond the boundaries of Arabia. According to the maxims received from their prophet, the holy land which had been first favoured with his revelations was to be kept pure from the contamination of infidels; but the same rigid notions did not extend to other countries, if possessed by a people who believed in Moses or Jesus Christ. All were, indeed, invited to accept the more perfect doctrines of the son of Abdallah; but if they were unwilling to receive the boon, they might enjoy freedom of conscience and of religious worship, upon paying an annual sum into the treasury of Mecca or of Bagdad. It is probable, therefore, that the many thousands of Africans who swelled the list of converts, must have been allured rather than intimidated to declare their belief in the impostor. The minds of the multitude were tempted by the invisible as well as temporal

rewards held forth by the preachers of Islamism; and in the revolution which was thereby produced, every member of the new society rose to the natural level of his capacity and courage. At length the influence of these mixed motives was so powerfully felt, that the Koran superseded the New Testament along the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean, —a victory of darkness over light which has been perpetuated to the present day.

The architectural monuments of Christianity on the Barbary shores are much fewer than might have been expected. We learn from the Notitia, that there were at one period about 600 Episcopal sees; though, from want of geographical minuteness in the description, it is not possible to determine the situation of more than 100. It has also been a matter of surprise, that, while amidst the ruins of these cities there remain many altars and other tokens of pagan idolatry, the relics of Christian worship should be so scanty. An attempt has been made to explain this fact, by referring to the great hatred and contempt which the Saracens have always entertained towards the Nazarenes, and which have led them to obliterate all traces of a faith so little in accordance with their own. They are farther incited to this work of destruction by the hope of finding coins, or pieces of lead and iron; portions of which metals were used in the structure of churches, as also in protecting the repositories of the dead. But whatever may have been the motives to which this rage for demolition is to be ascribed, it is admitted by travellers, that hardly any crosses or other emblems of the Gospel are found among the dilapidated walls of the African provinces.*

* Shaw's Travels (Edinburgh edition, 1808), vol. i. p. xxvii.

It is remarkable that the Barbary States are the only land from which the benefits of the Gospel, after being long and fully enjoyed, have been totally withdrawn. The arts which were planted there by the colonists of Phœnicia and Rome were lost during the dark reign of ignorance; and the doctrines which had been diffused by the zeal of Cyprian and Augustin were suppressed by the fanaticism of barbarous warriors. Five hundred churches, we are told, were overturned by the hostile fury of the Donatists, the Vandals, and the Moors; after which the energy and numbers of the clergy gradually decreased, until the people, deprived of knowledge and hope, sunk submissively under the Arabian yoke.

About the middle of the eighth century, within fifty years after the forces of the Greek emperors were expelled, Abdoulrahman, the governor of Africa, wrote to the Caliph Abul Abbas, that the infidels by their conversion had exempted themselves from tribute; indicating thereby the rapid and extensive propagation of the Mohammedan faith. During the next age, an attempt was made by the Patriarch of Alexandria to revive the dying embers of Christianity. Five bishops were sent to Kairwan with the view of rallying the scattered members of the Church; but as these missionaries belonged to a schismatical communion, no record of their labours has been preserved. It would seem, however, that the semblance at least of episcopal authority was restored at Carthage; for, in the eleventh century, the successor of St Cyprian is known to have implored the protection of the Roman pontiff, to shield him at once from the furious intolerance of the Saracens and the insubordination of his own colleagues. In

less than 100 years after that incident, the worship of Christ and the succession of the apostolical priesthood were abolished throughout the whole province; or if any believers remained, they concealed themselves under those compliances with the prevailing superstition which were allowed and adopted on the principle of convenience. When Charles the Fifth, in the year 1533, landed on the coast, a few families of Latin Christians were encouraged to avow their faith both at Tunis and Algiers. But the seed of the Gospel was soon afterwards entirely eradicated; and the extensive province from Tripoli to the Atlantic has lost all memory of the religion and language of Rome.*

As the theology of Mohammedanism is not closely connected with literature, it is in vain that we look for any fruits of professional study among the expounders of the Koran. Their first efforts, after the Ommiades assumed the Western Caliphate, were confined to the elucidation of their sacred books, the laws enjoined by their prophet, and to the cultivation of poetry; this last being the amusement or the labour of all rude tribes. When, however, their civil wars were brought to an end, the Moslem, under the dominion of the Abbassides, acquired a taste for science, especially for those branches of it which contribute to the success of astronomy. Almamoun, the seventh of that dynasty, pursuing the path which

* Gibbon, chapter li. Cardonne, Histoire de l'Afrique, tome iii. p. 168. In allusion to the communication mentioned above, this author remarks, that, "Il (Abdoulrahman) finit sa lettre, par représenter à ce prince qu'il ne dévoit plus s'attendre à recevoir des tributs de l'Afrique; que tous les peuples avoient embrassé le Mahométisme, et avoient fait cesser par-là tous les impôts auxquels étoient assujettis les infidèles."

had been marked out for him by his predecessors, employed confidential agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, to collect the works of the Greek philosophers, which he also ordered to be translated into the language of Arabia, and illustrated by the most skilful interpreters. Humbling himself so far as to become a pupil to the nation whom his arms had subdued, he set an example of assiduous application to his subjects; exhorting them to peruse with attention the instructive writings which he had procured for their learning, and to make themselves masters of the rare wisdom which had exalted the countrymen of Plato and Euclid. "He was not ignorant," says Abulpharagius, "that those are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their intellectual faculties. The mean ambition of the Chinese, or the Turks, may glory in the industry of their hands, or the indulgence of their sensual propensities; though these dexterous artists must view with hopeless emulation the hexagons and pyramids of a bee-hive, and acknowledge the superior strength of lions and tigers. The teachers of philosophy are the real luminaries of the world, which, without their aid, would again sink into ignorance and barbarism."*

The ardour of Almamoun extended itself to the Fatimites of Africa, who now deemed it an honour to become the patrons of the learned. The emirs of provinces were smitten with a similar emulation, and science met with an ample reward in all parts of the Mohammedan empire. The royal library is said to have consisted of a hundred thousand manu-

* Dynast. p. 160.

scripts, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were freely lent to the students in the capital, as well as at Kairwan and Alexandria. In every city the productions of Arabic literature were copied with much industry, and collected with great care. The treasures of Africa, however, were surpassed by those of Spain, where the Omniades had formed an establishment containing six hundred thousand volumes. Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, could boast of having produced three hundred authors; while, in the kingdom of Andalusia, there were, it is said, no fewer than seventy public libraries. Nor was this zeal for the promotion of science confined to one family or one age. On the contrary, it continued to adorn the ascendency of the Arabians about five hundred years, when it was terminated by the great irruption of the Mongols, who succeeded in spreading a cloud of ignorance and barbarism over a large portion of Asia and of the West. This period of light in the several caliphates of Bagdad, Egypt, and Spain, beginning in the eighth and ending in the fourteenth century, coincided with the darkest and most inactive ages of Europe; but since the sun of knowledge rose again in the latter division of the globe, the shades of intellectual night appear to have fallen with increased obscurity upon all the kingdoms of Northern Africa.*

It is not undeserving of remark, that some treatises, of which the Greek originals are lost, have been preserved to us through the medium of Arabic translations. As mathematics, astronomy, and physic,

* Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 160, quoted in the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. lii.

were the favourite subjects of investigation among the learned Mohammedans, it is not surprising that there should have been found in their repositories regular versions of Euclid, Apollonius, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen. In the department of metaphysics, as also in that of the law of nature and nations, great value was attached to the speculations of Plato and Aristotle, those distinguished masters of reasoning and founders of the most celebrated schools in Greece. The Arabians, whose ingenious spirits inclined them to the study of dialectics, preferred the philosophy of the latter; and as it afforded a plausible instrument for conducting debate, and more especially for methodizing the conclusions attained by argument or observation, it was adopted generally in the seminaries established by the Saracens. Useless when applied to the interpretation of physical phenomena, it afforded no aid to those who wished to detect the principles by which the movements of the material universe are regulated; and, as in all respects it was better calculated for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not wonderful, that upon the revival of learning in Europe, the natural sciences should have presented themselves in nearly the same imperfect state in which they had been left, many centuries before, by the sages of Athens.

The climate of Africa, as well as the habits of the oriental people who now inhabited the upper coast, encouraged the pursuits of practical astronomy,—a species of knowledge which was supposed to confer upon the adepts in its profounder mysteries an acquaintance with the destiny of individuals and of nations. The most costly apparatus was supplied

by the Caliph Almamoun, and he had the satisfaction to find that his mathematicians were able to measure a degree of the great circle of the earth, and to determine its entire circumference at twenty-four thousand miles. But it was in chemistry that the Saracens made the greatest advances, and contributed most to the progress of modern science. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation; analyzed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature; proved the distinction and the affinities of acids and alkalies; and converted the poisonous minerals into salutary medicines. It is true, no doubt, that the object of their most eager research was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health; and that their secret processes were aided by all the powers of mystery, fraud, and superstition. But it is equally certain, that the results of their numerous experiments tended to widen the boundaries of real knowledge; to suggest better methods of manipulation; and finally to open a path into those spacious fields where man has reaped the most abundant fruits of ingenuity and perseverance.*

It must be acknowledged, that the protracted domination of the Turks in Africa, and the destruction of the capital so long occupied by the Commanders of the Faithful, have occasioned the disappearance of the greater part of those monuments by which the scientific triumphs of the Arabs are elsewhere perpetuated. The catalogue of the Escurial

* In the library of Cairo, the manuscripts of medicine and astronomy amounted to 6500, with two fair globes, the one of brass, the other of silver.—Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, tom. i. p. 417. See Gibbon, chap. lii.

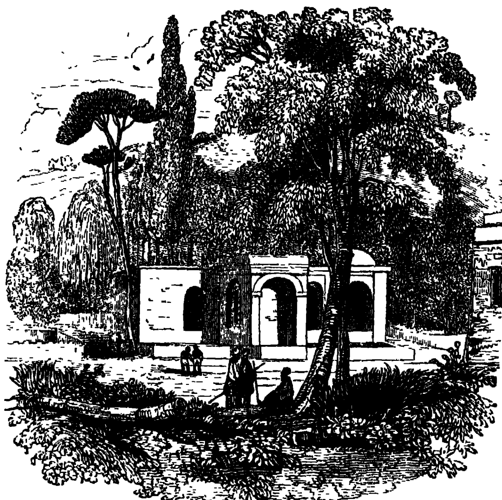
still bears testimony to the extent of their labours, both as commentators and translators; while lists of works, edited or composed by the scholars of Bagdad, prove that the court of the Abbassides was not less auspicious to the enterprises of literary zeal. But of the distinction which belonged to Kairwan in this respect, no traces now remain in the savage country of which it was once the ornament and the defence. The fame of that city, at one time filled with palaces and schools, is only to be heard in the form of an echo from contemporaneous writers, who flourished in Spain or Italy; and is, in our days, faintly resounded in the compilations of Abulpharagius, Renaudot, Fabricius, Asseman, Casiri, and the learned D'Herbelot.

The preference shown by the African Mussulmans to science, when compared with the lighter and more elegant studies of poetry, kept them ignorant of Grecian literature, even while they occupied the provinces where it had attained its highest eminence. The Arabians, in fact, disdained to use any other language than their own, the beauty and copiousness of which they never ceased to extol. Finding among their Christian subjects persons whom they could employ to form translations, they selected the most distinguished names in medicine and astronomy; but it has been remarked, that even in those seats of learning where the Arabic manuscripts are most numerous, there has not been discovered the version of a poet, an orator, or an historian. They were content that the annals of the world, prior to the era of their prophet, should be reduced to a short legend of the Jewish patriarchs and the Persian kings. The Greeks, on their part,

actuated by a foolish vanity, were little disposed to communicate to their conquerors those graces of style and diction by which their own compositions were recommended to the finest taste. Hence the Mohammedans, even after their long residence in the Grecian colonies and Roman cities on both sides of the Mediterranean, never manifested in their writings a simple dignity of manner, a just appreciation of visible or intellectual beauty, a chaste delineation of character and passion, or an accurate conception of dramatical propriety, even in their most splendid fictions.

The fifteenth century closes our researches into the religion and literature of the ancient Barbary States; because at that period the dynasties which had hitherto connected them with the language and habits of Western Asia, gave way to a ruder sovereignty, emerging from the remote regions of the North. The domination of the Turks has not yet been alleviated by the enjoyment of learned ease, nor ennobled by the pursuits of science. A brighter era has, perhaps, begun to dawn on those desolate tracts; and were the example recently given by France cautiously but resolutely followed by other European powers, and colonies established along the whole line of coast, civilisation, so long banished, might yet be restored; Christianity would again resume her mild sway over the consciences and morals of the inhabitants; and learning, accompanied by the arts, would once more shed her blessings on the land where Cyprian preached and Tertullian wrote.

It is not, however, to be concluded, that the Moors and Arabs are entirely indifferent to the educa-



Coffeehouse and School at Byrnadrais.

tion of their children, or to the respect which always attends the possession of knowledge. Philosophy, mathematics, and medicine, which a few centuries ago were their peculiar inheritance, are, it is true, very little studied among them. Their wandering life, and the oppression of the Turkish government, do not permit the enjoyment of that quiet, freedom, and security, without which the pursuit of letters cannot be attended with success. At the age of six, boys are sent to school, where they learn to read, to write, and repeat their lessons at the same time. They make no use of paper; but, instead of it, each pupil has a thin smooth board, slightly daubed over with whiting, or fine sand, which may be wiped off and renewed at pleasure.

After they have made some progress in the Koran, which is the principal book used in their seminaries, they are initiated in the several ceremonies of their religion. These acquirements, which may be attained by all, are seldom exceeded by any, even by those who devote their lives to contemplation. The erudition of the Mussulmans is confined to some enthusiastic commentaries upon the sacred text, the outlines of a very inaccurate geography, and memoirs of recent times ; for such histories as are older than their own era present nothing but a compound of distorted facts and extravagant romance.

Of navigation, a practical acquaintance with which seems so essential to their prosperity as pirates and merchants, they scarcely know the simplest elements. Their proficiency is limited to the rude art of what is called pricking a chart, and distinguishing the eight principal points of the compass. When Dr Shaw was in the country, the chief astronomer, whose duty it was to regulate the hours of prayer, had not trigonometry enough to project a sun-dial. Chemistry, once their favourite study, is now confined to the distillation of rose-water. The names of Avicenna and Averroes are hardly known. The quadrants, astrolabes, and other instruments left by their ancestors, are looked upon rather as curiosities than prized as useful inventions. Algebra and arithmetic, which owe so much of their advancement to the ancient Arabs, are not familiar, even in their most elementary form, to one person in a thousand among their descendants. The labours of Diophantus and of Albugiani are lost or neglected ; and the progeny of the brave and accomplished Saracens seem not aware of the obligations under which Eu-

rope stands to them for having preserved the fruits of Egyptian art and Grecian philosophy.

In such unfavourable circumstances, it cannot be expected that any branch of practical knowledge should be properly studied. There are not, indeed, wanting many persons who prescribe in physic, perform upon a variety of musical instruments, and engage in other professions which seem to imply some acquaintance with the mathematical and chemical sciences. Yet, we are assured, such attainments have no foundation in principle, but are entirely the result of practice, aided by great quickness of thought and vigour of memory. The abilities of the people are allowed to be considerable; their ingenuity and perseverance are equal to the most arduous undertakings; and the philanthropist has not to deplore the absence of any thing except a regular encouragement to industry.

# CHAPTER V

## *The Cyrenaica and Pentapolis.*

Modern Acceptation of the Term Barbary—Desert of Barca—District of Marmarica—Its desolate State—Remains of ancient Improvement—Derna—Natural Advantages—Habits of the People—Want of good Harbours—Attempt of Americans to colonize it—Ruins—Opinion of Pacho—Excavations and Grottos—Cyrene—Details by Herodotus—War with Egypt—Successes of the Persians—Form of Government—Cyrene subject to Egypt—Persians—Saracens—Present State of the Cyrenaica—Marsa-Suza—Ruins—Apollonia—Monuments of Christianity—Tombs—Theatres—Style of Architecture—Amphitheatre—Temples—Stadium—Hypogea—Notion of petrified Village—Account by Shaw—Remark by Della Cella—Journey of Captain Smyth—State of Ghirza—Fountain of Apollo—Description of it—Examined by Captain Beechey—Plain of Merge—Barca—History of—Doubts as to its real Position—Opinion of Della Cella—Ptolemeta or Dolmeita—Fine Situation of the Town—Streets covered with Grass and Shrubs—Extent of the City—Ruins—Theatres—Magnificent Gateway—Supposed of Egyptian Origin—Hypothesis of Della Cella—Disputed by Captain Beechey—Taucra, or ancient Teuchira—Unfavourable as a Seaport—Complete Demolition of its Buildings—Ruins of two Christian Churches—Tombs—Variety of Greek Inscriptions—Mode of Burial—Bengazi, or Berenice—Miserable Condition of the Place—Plague of Flies—Population—Character of Inhabitants—Gardens of the Hesperides—Glowing Descriptions of them by ancient Writers—Position indicated by Scylax—Labours of Captain Beechey—Conclusion.

It has been already stated that Barbary, according to the modern acceptation of the term, may be viewed as comprehending four great pashaliks or governments; all of which profess to own a subjection, more or less restricted, to the supreme authority of

the Grand Turk. In describing these extensive provinces, which stretch from the borders of Egypt to the shores of the Atlantic, we shall at first proceed from east to west; having in some degree prepared for this arrangement by laying before our readers, in a former volume, all the facts which recent enterprise has brought to light, regarding that perilous desert which, commencing at the left bank of the Nile, touches the sea in the neighbourhood of the greater Syrtis. The discoveries of Brown, Pacho, and others, who in later times have penetrated this dreary wilderness, have rendered familiar to the student of geography every thing that can be deemed interesting relative to Siwah, the seat of the ancient Ammonium, and those smaller oases by which the surface of the surrounding waste is relieved and diversified.

Moving along the coast westward from Alexandria, the traveller, upon reaching the 28th degree of longitude, finds himself in the district of Marmarica, where the classical port of Parætonium may still be recognised under the modern appellation of Al Bereton. This wild country is not recommended to the European eye either by its natural beauties or its historical remains. The soil, of a parched and barren aspect, refuses nourishment to those groves of laurel, myrtle, juniper, and arbutus, which in other parts adorn the northern edge of the Desert, and present an air of freshness to the mariner who approaches the shore. Traces are not wanting, indeed, of happier times, when a race of men possessing industry and taste must have occupied its surface. Canals, constructed for the purpose of irrigation, cross the plain in various directions, even

ascending the sides of the hills; and cisterns meant to retain the excess of moisture supplied by the rainy season, are still found in such a state of preservation as to indicate the plan on which they were built, and the materials of which they consisted.

It admits not of doubt, that, when the Cyrenaica was subject to the King of Egypt, this province must have enjoyed a considerable share of wealth and importance. The labours bestowed on agriculture prove at once the extent of the population and the value attached to the produce of land; and even at the present day there are every where vestiges of ancient habitations, which, though they serve only to throw an additional gloom over regions condemned to desertion and melancholy, afford the best evidence that they were at one time blessed with at least a partial civilisation, and with such improvement as belonged to the parent state.

The Gulf of Bomba presents itself as a principal feature in this scene, in which geographers are willing to recognise the harbour of Menelaus, mentioned by Herodotus, Strabo, and Ptolemy. No positive traces, it is true, can be discovered of the power or taste of the Cyrenians, though it is certain that their dominion extended so far to the eastward. The Bedouins, moreover, unite in declaring that, at a little distance from the bottom of the bay, there is a lake with a small island in the centre, covered with architectural relics of a superior order. The statements of such guides, however, are, for the most part, unworthy of trust, not only from ignorance, but also from that habit of exaggeration to which all rude tribes are addicted. The specimens, accordingly, which fell under the notice of M. Pacho,

were executed in the Egyptian style, with very little regard to elegance, and bearing no marks of that refined genius which characterized the buildings of the Grecian colonists in the Pentapolis.

The frontiers of Tripoli and Egypt are, as might be expected, extremely unsettled, being beyond the reach of either government, and affording a retreat to the thieves, the outlaws, and malecontents of both. Pitching their tents in the neighbourhood of the gulf, they make incursions into the adjoining districts, and plunder every one who has the misfortune to fall in their way. They are ever on the watch for the caravans and pilgrims who traverse the Desert on their journey to Mecca; and this is the only route used by the people of Morocco, who are said of all Moslem to be the most fervently devoted to the prophet. It might seem, indeed, that the equipage of a penitent would not hold out any temptation to these rapacious freebooters; for, wrapped up in a tattered cloak, without shoes or headdress, and carrying no provisions besides a bag of barley-meal, he might appear rather an object of compassion than of plunder, even in the eyes of an Arab. But it is well known that under this semblance of extreme poverty the hajjis often conceal a quantity of gold-dust, which being brought from the interior of Africa to Fez, is thence conveyed as an article of commerce to the holy city. The hope of seizing this valuable booty subjects every traveller to the misery of being stripped and narrowly examined; and it is related, that a few years ago an uncle of the Moorish emperor, though escorted by 3000 men, was assailed by this horde of marauders and pillaged of all his treasures.

The face of the country, from the gulf just described to Derna, is very uneven, rocky, and unproductive, with the exception of some glens or recesses in the hilly parts, which are covered with beautiful evergreens. The territory belonging to the latter place consists of a narrow plain of most fertile land, situated upon a small bay, and girdled on the south by a range of hills which at either extremity dip into the sea. Within this enclosure flourish great numbers of palm-trees, whose rough tops are seen spreading over the softer forms of the vine, the pomegranate, the fig, olive, and apricot.

In the centre of the plain, and surrounded by gardens full of orange and lemon trees, the exterior of the town is seen to great advantage; but though its streets are more than usually regular, the houses are very low and small; and, being built only of pebbles cemented with clay, appear very uncomfortable. Their dwellings, indeed, exhibit the most painful evidence of the ignorance and idleness of the people; for the adjacent hills abound with excellent limestone, as well as with timber of the most suitable description for domestic architecture. Two abundant springs of pure water issue from the rocks which overhang the town; one of which, collected in an aqueduct, supplies the inhabitants, and serves to irrigate the contiguous fields; while the other is conveyed to Demensura, a village about a mile distant. This copious moisture applied to the surface, combined with that which filters from the rocks through the subsoil, gives rise, in the glowing climate of Africa, to a strength of vegetation of which Europe can present no example.

Derna, we are told, contains all the elements of

an abundant subsistence for a large population. Excellent meat and milk are brought thither by the Arabs, who feed their flocks on the neighbouring hills; the valley is admirably fitted to bear all kinds of corn; the most exquisite fruits abound throughout the winter; and the natives have it in their power to carry on a lucrative trade in the honey which is produced in great quantities by the prodigious swarms of bees that multiply on the rocky heights. But these sources of prosperity are dried up by the withering influence of a despotic government. The laws afford no protection; and confidence between the sovereign and the people has entirely disappeared. Besides, the more peaceful residents are never safe from the incursions of the Bedouins, who frequently enter the town in armed bands, and indulge in the most savage plunder. Fatalism, too, that offspring of Mohammedan superstition, continually exposes the occupants of the town to the ravages of the plague, which is conveyed to them through their intercourse with Egypt. A few years ago, that destructive disease raged so fiercely, that the number of its inhabitants was reduced from 5000 to 700.

The natural advantages belonging to this district, and which, in the hands of a civilized people, might be converted into the means of distinguished wealth and power, are, to a certain extent, neutralized by the want of good harbours. This defect has been considered as the principal reason why no foreign nation, desirous of having a permanent footing in that section of the Mediterranean, has attempted to establish itself at Derna. The bay, it is clear, offers no secure asylum for shipping, while the anchorage-

ground is described as being intersected by sharp calcareous strata, which would soon tear in pieces the strongest cables. It is said that the United States of America, notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, expressed a wish to form a colony on this part of the coast, and even offered to purchase a portion of the territory from the Pasha of Tripoli. Their proposal being rejected, they are understood to have at length taken forcible possession of Derna; but it is added that, not long afterwards, they suddenly desisted from their enterprise and quitted the place, leaving behind them a battery mounting six pieces of cannon, and a watermill which is still in use.

Mr Blaquière endeavours to account for this relinquishment of an abortive undertaking, by insinuating, that the Americans, when at war with the pasha, between 1801 and 1804, seduced his brother, Sidi Hamet, who had been appointed to this government, to surrender the country into their hands. "Their object," says he, "was that of holding this man up as a bugbear to frighten his highness into terms. These transatlantic heroes, however, after various though ineffectual attempts, were obliged to pay for a peace with Tripoli, and most shamefully abandoned poor Sidi Hamet to his fate, by only stipulating for his return to Derna, instead of allowing him a pension." But it is probable, that the true reasons were more profound and diplomatic than those now assigned, and that the warriors of the United States were withdrawn lest umbrage should be taken by France or England. Captain Beechey, who describes the battery as a castle, observes, that the remains of it are still

to be seen; but that the guns are now thrown down, and the building itself is a mere heap of ruins.*

A ravine which stretches back from the town into the mountains is of considerable extent, having on its sides some picturesque gardens adorned with trees. In the rainy season a large body of water rushes down into the sea, and is sometimes so deep and rapid as to become wholly impassable, separating one half of the houses from the other. On the eastern bank is the principal burying-ground of the place, distinguished in particular by a lofty tomb, raised on four arches, under which the body is laid, with its usual covering of snow-white cement, and a carved turban at the head. Above the town a few sepulchres may be observed, though in a very decayed condition, and which must have been originally excavated out of the solid rock. Fragments of columns, and some large stones, evidently prepared for more stately buildings than the walls of Arab houses, indicate that Derna once accommodated a people to whom the arts and comforts of life were not altogether unknown.

A French author, whose name has been already

* Mr Blaquière remarks, that "the bay is exposed to easterly and northerly winds, but has excellent anchorage, and ships of any class may approach near the shore, it being very bold. It is important to observe, that vessels passing by Derna may obtain supplies of water and fresh provisions at a very trifling expense; and Lord Keith's fleet received supplies from this place during the memorable campaign of Egypt. The French government, aware of the importance of Derna, sent Gantheaume with his squadron and a body of troops there in 1799, to disembark them for the purpose, as he informed the governor, of re-enforcing the army of Bonaparte in Egypt; but his request was not acceded to, owing to the jealousy of the pasha, and the French admiral did not think it prudent to force a landing."—Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 6.

mentioned, is of opinion that the proper city has entirely disappeared, and that its place is supplied by five villages; two of which, Eljebeli and Mansour, are erected either immediately over, or closely adjoining to, ancient sepulchral grottos. This departure from the custom of the Moslem has been justified by necessity, or at least by the great usefulness of such excavations in so rainy a country; and hence, without perplexing themselves with any inquiries as to the primary use of these vaults, they have converted them into workshops and receptacles for grain. The inhabitants construct their houses in such a manner that these caves are included in their yard or court. Viewed as objects of art, they present nothing remarkable, being equally devoid of inscriptions and of every other species of ornament. The workmanship, in short, is very rude. The grottos of the latter village are hewn in the sides of the mountain, the rocky surface of which is sometimes bare, and sometimes covered with verdure. The largest have been converted into manufactories, containing one or more looms, perfectly resembling those still used in the hamlets of the south of France.

In the neighbourhood there are other excavations of a similar description. Some at a little distance eastward from the city are called *Kennissiah*, or the Churches. These are found at the summit of the steep rocks that border this part of the coast, and against which the sea lashes its waves. Steps, still seen at intervals, have been formed to the very top of the elevation; but the water which issues from the clefts of the rocks, and a carpeting of moss, render the pathway slippery, and even dan-

gerous. The ascent being accomplished, there is seen a little semicircular esplanade, round which runs a low bench, designed as a resting-place to the families of Derna who repair thither to perform their funeral-rites. The largest of the grottos appears to be an ancient sanctuary, afterwards converted into a Christian chapel. All the others must have been merely tombs; though the irregularity of their position and the inequality of the rocks render their appearance extremely picturesque. Arches and niches are to be seen in them of every form and dimension, from the full Roman semicircle to the perfect ogive of the middle ages.

The district of Derna has acquired a factitious importance from a modern arrangement, by which it is made to comprehend the Cyrenaica together with the five Grecian towns whence originated the name of Pentapolis. The history of Cyrene, the oldest of these establishments, is given by Herodotus in his usual manner, mixing fable with facts, and connecting real events with the legends of a superstitious age. A colony of Spartans having joined the descendants of certain Phœnicians in the island of Calista, engaged in a variety of exploits suitable to the spirit of the times, under Theras their chief. Migrating from place to place, they at length agreed to consult the oracle as to their final residence; when their leader received instructions to build a house in Libya. Some time elapsed before the meaning of the prophetess was clearly understood; nor was it until after they had been taught by severe suffering the true import of the response, that a party under Battus, the son of Polymnestus, guided by Corobius, a native of Crete, set sail for

Africa, and landed on an island situated in the Gulf of Bomba.*

Following the directions of the oracle, the new settlers removed from Platea, the island on which they first took up their abode, and, making choice of the high ground on the shore of the neighbouring continent, built there the city of Cyrene, about the third year of the thirty-seventh Olympiad, nearly six centuries and a half before the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. After the death of Battus and his son Arcesilaus, another migration from Greece added so much to their numbers that it became necessary to extend their borders into the Libyan territory. The natives applied to Egypt for help against the invaders; and an army sent by Apries, the Pharaoh Hophra of the Scriptures, soon appeared on the western edge of the Desert, prepared to check the inroads of the Lacedæmonian colonists. But the skill and resolution of these foreigners proved equal to the emergency which was thus created; for, meeting the Egyptians at a place indicated by Herodotus, near the Fountain of Theste, they inflicted upon them so severe a defeat, that few were left to convey to Memphis the tidings of their calamity. Success, however, did not cement the bonds of their union, nor confer security upon their rising commonwealth. On the contrary, a series of dissensions led to the separation of a large body, who, abjuring the authority of their prince, founded a new establishment at Barca as the rivals or enemies of their Grecian brethren.

This misunderstanding was soon followed by war, in which the Cyrenians sustained some heavy losses. Insurrection and murder carried their horrors into

* Herodot. Melpomene, c. 147-169.

both countries, and the interposition of Egypt was again implored by Pheretime, the mother of Arcesilaus, the fourth of the name. Aryandes, the deputy of Darius Hystaspes, listened to the complaint of his royal supplicant, and sent towards the scene of contention an able general at the head of a commanding force; but before adopting decisive measures, he despatched a messenger to the people of Barca, desiring to be informed whether they were guilty of the crimes laid to their charge. On their acknowledging that they had put to death the King of Cyrene, he gave orders that his troops should advance, accompanied by a fleet, which proceeded along the coast. After a long siege, Barca fell into the hands of the Persian leader, who, in violation of a sacred promise, committed the inhabitants to the revenge of the enraged Cyrenians, by whom they were butchered in the most inhuman manner. The town itself appears to have fallen into decay, and, at no great distance of time, to have been relinquished in favour of the port, which gradually rose into some consequence.

From this period till the conquest of the Persian empire, the affairs of Cyrene are hardly mentioned in contemporaneous history. Aristotle remarks that, in his time, the government was republican; and it is not improbable that, after the extinction of their royal line and the success of the army directed by Aryandes, the whole country became subject to the oriental viceroy, in the form of a province. At the time when the dispute took place between the people of Carthage and the Cyrenians, concerning the limits of their respective domains, it may be presumed, from the account transmitted of it by Sal-

lust, that democracy was already established among the descendants of the Spartan emigrants. At all events, it is asserted by Strabo, that they continued to enjoy their own laws till Egypt was subdued by the arms of Alexander. After the death of the Macedonian hero, their country once more became the prey of contending adventurers, and was at length delivered into the hands of King Ptolemy by the general Ophellas. A brother of the Egyptian monarch, named Magas, reigned in Cyrene fifty years; and it continued to be ruled by the Grecian dynasty of princes, now seated on the throne of the Pharaohs, till Ptolemy Physcon conferred it upon his illegitimate son Apion, who afterwards bequeathed it by will to the Romans. The senate, it is well known, accepted the bequest, but allowed the several cities of the Pentapolis to be governed by their own magistrates; and the whole territory, in consequence, soon became the theatre of civil discord, and exposed to the tyranny of ambitious rivals, all of whom aspired to the local sovereignty. Lucullus, who visited it during the first Mithridatic war, restored it to some degree of tranquillity; but the source of dissension and internal broils was not entirely removed until the Cyrenaica, about seventy years before the birth of Christ, was formally reduced to the condition of a Roman province. At a later period it was united in one government with the island of Crete,—an arrangement which subsisted in the days of Strabo, whose attention, as the geographer of the empire, was particularly drawn to its territorial distributions.

It is conjectured that the period during which Cyrene enjoyed the greatest prosperity was when it

acknowledged the authority of the Egyptian kings who succeeded Alexander,—an epoch when art was in the highest perfection, and literature in equal esteem. For the same reason, it appears probable, that when the Romans, to punish a tumult, destroyed a large portion of the city, they must have spared the temples and other public buildings; for the principal remains which meet the eye of the traveller are decidedly Grecian, of an early age, apparently still more ancient than even the Ptolemaic dynasty. A similar remark applies to the tombs; although among them there is a greater variety, embracing examples of all styles in the successive eras of African or European architecture.

History does not supply us with the means of determining to what causes its final desertion ought to be ascribed; but it admits not of any doubt, that, in the fifth century, it was already a heap of ruins, and that its wealth and honours were transferred to the episcopal city of Ptolemais. The entire devastation of the Greek settlements, however, in that part of Africa, was not effected till the reign of Chosroes, the Persian emperor, who, in the year 616, overran Syria and Egypt, and even advanced as far as the confines of the modern Tunis. "His western trophy was erected," says Gibbon, "not on the walls of Carthage, but in the neighbourhood of Tripoli; the Greek colonies were finally extirpated; and the conqueror, treading in the footsteps of Alexander, returned in triumph through the sands of the Libyan desert." The Saracens completed the work of the Persians; and for seven centuries this once fertile and populous region has been lost to civilisation, to commerce, and even to geographical

knowledge. For three parts of the year Cyrene is uninhabited, except by jackals and hyenas; while, during the remainder, the wandering Bedouins, too indolent to ascend the higher range of hills, pitch their tents chiefly on the low ground southward of the summit on which the city is built.

But most readers will be disposed to take a greater interest in its present condition than in its ancient history, and to read the events and acquisitions of the past in the relics which still remain of primitive art and magnificence. The latest and best authorities on this subject are Della Cella, an Italian physician, M. Pacho, and the two Beecheys; all of whom examined the Pentapolis in person, and have also published their observations on the interesting country through which they passed.

In proceeding westward along the coast of the Cyrenaica, the traveller finds his attention arrested by the ruins of Apollonia, once a port and seat of merchandise belonging to the African Greeks. It is situated in a bay formed by high cliffs, which, being very precipitous towards the sea, render it almost inaccessible by land, except through those deep ravines that occasionally open upon the shore. A succession of rocks projecting into the water, from east to south-west, probably served as the base of the ancient mole, which on that side protected the harbour; and upon the remains of this natural bastion are the vestiges of buildings, of which some are also seen rising out of the waves. On the beach are the ruins of certain houses of importance; among which are several columns of Pentilic marble, still entire, large blocks of wrought granite, and a few arches that seem to have supported a magnificent

edifice. Near the hills are the remains of an aqueduct, constructed for the purpose of conveying water to the town; and upon the stones are numerous inscriptions, which, though defaced by time, serve as records of the power of the Romans, and their frequent intercourse with this part of Africa.*

We learn from the same authors, that Greek inscriptions are also found among the different fragments of those antique piles; and one, in particular, which the Italian discovered near the sea, has given rise to some discussion. He remarks, that it was executed in strange and whimsical characters, very troublesome to copy; but which, he thinks, supply a memorial of the people, who, at various periods, have frequented or ruled over Apollonia.†

This port, the ancient harbour of Cyrene, and known in former times by the appellation of Sosuza, is now denominated by the Arabs Marsa-Suza. That it is the celebrated port of the chief seat of the Grecian settlements there can be no doubt, as well from its magnificent remains as from its position, which coincides with that laid down by the best geographers; being 100 stadia from Naustadmos, 160 from the promontory Phycus, and 80 from Cyrene. Surrounded by precipitous heights towards the interior, its principal use at present is to afford an asylum to the natives, when pursued by those bands of robbers who dwell near the Gulf of Bomba, and who sometimes extend their preda-

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* Della Cella, p. 160. A D. . . E A E. S. . . . E V. . . —
Ti - - - D E. M. . — C V M I C——
A E. — D V. ———
C V N —— . . .

† Beechey, p. 568-580. Della Cella, p. 160.

tory excursions as far as the recesses of the mountains which form the western boundary of Derna.*

The actual condition of this remarkable place affords a strong instance in support of the opinion advanced by most travellers in Northern Africa, that the Mediterranean is encroaching fast on its southern shores, while it is gradually receding from those of Italy, Dalmatia, and the Morea. From this cause, portions of the elevated ground on which the front of the town was built, are continually falling in; the scene or stage of the principal theatre outside the walls has been wholly swept away by the waves; and the tombs along the beach are commonly filled with water. The public edifice now mentioned appears to have rested partly on the natural rock and partly on the citadel; and the seats must have been approached from above, there being no entry at either side. As the ranges of the subsellia are still very perfect, the effect of the building, as it now presents itself, is that of a stupendous flight of steps leading down from the bank on which they repose to the level of the orchestra, long ago washed away by the sea.

The ground-plans of several other buildings in Apollonia may still be traced with no small degree of certainty. Those of the Christian churches in particular are very decided, as well as the remains of a noble structure, of a similar form, at the western extremity of the town. The handsome marble columns, which now encumber the edifices which they once adorned, afford evident proofs that no expense had been spared in the erection of these magnificent

* Della Cella. Scyl. Perip. Strabo, lib. xvii.

temples; for the material of which they are composed is not found in this part of Africa, and must have been transported from a great distance at an immense cost. On the centre of the shafts of some of these pillars, Captain Beechey observed the figure of a large cross engraved: they have all been originally formed of single pieces, some of which still remain entire, and would, he thinks, be no inappropriate ornaments to churches of modern construction. The reflection which rises in the mind of the gallant officer is at once natural and becoming: he regards these splendid monuments of Christianity, in a country labouring under ignorance and superstition, as affording pleasing memorials of early piety, and recalling the active times of Cyprian and Anastasius, of the philosophic Synesius,—himself a Cyrenian,—and other distinguished actors in those memorable scenes which Northern Africa once presented to an admiring world. But the grass is now growing over the altar-stone, and the munificence which gave birth to these stately buildings is visible only in their ruins.

But Cyrene itself is still more interesting than its port. Its position, we are told, is on the edge of a range of hills, about 800 feet in height, descending in terraces one below another, till they are each met by the level ground, which forms the summit of the next declivity. At the foot of the upper one, on which the city was built, is a fine sweep of table-land, most beautifully varied with wood, among which are scattered tracts of barley and corn, and meadows covered a great part of the year with verdure. Ravines, the sides of which are thickly planted with trees, intersect the country in various

directions, and supply channels for the mountain-streams in their passage to the sea. This elevated platform extends east and west as far as the eye can follow it; while the lower range, which runs along the whole coast of the Cyrenaica, is likewise richly wooded, and diversified with deep glens. The height of the latter may be estimated at 1000 feet; and the city, which was placed on the upper one, must have been about 1800 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, of which it commanded a most extensive view. The prospect, indeed, is described as truly magnificent, and is said to remain in the mind undiminished in interest by a comparison with others, and to be as strongly depicted there after a lapse of years, as if it were still before the eyes in all the distinctness of reality.

It has been stated that the sides of the mountains do not descend abruptly to the plain below, but in terraces, one under another, which at length terminate on the level of the beach. The inhabitants have skilfully taken advantage of this formation, and shaped the ledges into roads, leading along the side of the hill, and which seem to have originally communicated with one another by means of steps cut in the rock. These drives are to this day distinctly lined with the marks of chariot-wheels, deeply indented in their stony surface. In most instances, the cliffs rise perpendicularly from one side of these aerial galleries, and are excavated into innumerable tombs, which have been formed with immense labour and care,—the greater number being adorned with architectural façades built against the polished rock, and thereby contributing much to the beauty of the scene. The outer sides of the esplanades, where the

descent takes place from one range to another, are ornamented with sarcophagi and monumental tombs; while the whole space between the terraces must have been completely filled with similar structures. These, as well as the excavated sepulchres, exhibit very superior taste and execution; and the clusters of dark-green furze and slender shrubs, with which they are now partly overgrown, give, by their contrast of form and colour, an additional effect to the multitude of white buildings which spring up in the midst of them.

The tombs generally consist of a single chamber; at the end of which, opposite the door-way, is an elegant façade, almost always of the Doric order, cut in the rock with considerable taste and exactness. It usually represents a portico; and the number of columns by which it was supported varied according to the length of the room. Between the pillars were niches cut deep into the mountain, for the reception of the ashes or bodies of the deceased; the dimensions of which were also regulated by the height of the columns and their distance from one another. In several of these vaults were discovered remains of painting, exhibiting historical, allegorical, and pastoral subjects, executed in the manner of those found at Herculaneum and Pompeii; some of which, we are assured, were by no means inferior to the best specimens preserved in these cities. It appears, moreover, that the different members of the architecture must, in many instances, have been coloured; examples which may be adduced in confirmation of an opinion founded on the recent discoveries at Athens, that the Greeks, like the Egyptians, were in the habit of staining their

buildings, and thereby sullying the modest hue of their Parian and Pentilic marbles.

In a ravine on the western side of the city, there was likewise found a number of tombs, similar in most respects to those already described. In truth, the various terraces formed into roads seem to prove that the people of Cyrene delighted in streets of sepulchral monuments, and were wont to take their pastime surrounded by the mouldering bodies of their ancestors. In passing along the galleries here, Mr Beechey discovered one instance of a mixture of two orders of architecture in the same building,—the portico being raised on Ionic columns, surmounted with a Doric entablature.

But, if the *excavated* tombs are objects of much interest, those also which have been *built* on every side of this ancient town are no less entitled to notice and admiration. Several months, it is said, might be employed in making drawings of the most conspicuous of these elegant structures; many of which are erected in imitation of temples, although there are scarcely two of them exactly alike. A judicious observer might select from these mausoleums examples of Grecian and Roman taste through a long succession of interesting periods; and the progress of the architectural art might thus be satisfactorily traced, from its early state among the first inhabitants of Cyrene, to its final decay in the hands of Italian colonists during the decline of the empire. Innumerable busts and statues originally adorned these mansions of the dead, and many of them are still seen half-buried beneath heaps of rubbish and soil at the foot of the buildings, of which they once occupied the most elevated parts.

Those entirely above ground are usually observed broken into several pieces, or so much mutilated as to have become mere trunks; but there is no doubt that great numbers are still existing in a perfect state, very little sunk under the surface, which might be procured at a trifling expense. Mr Beechey mentions, in regard to these remains of art, an absurd inconsistency in the Arab character. The very same statue which they would walk over day after day, without ever honouring it with a glance in passing, will in all probability be shivered to atoms the moment it becomes an object of particular notice.*

It need scarcely be observed, that the style of architecture in which the monumental tombs have been constructed varies according to the date of the building, and apparently, also, to the consequence of the persons interred in them. The order employed, more especially in the earlier examples, is for the most part Doric. From certain circumstances it is concluded, that the custom of burying the entire corpse very generally prevailed in Cyrene and other cities of the Pentapolis; and this is one of the few instances in which any analogy is perceived between the customs of the Grecian colonists and those of the Egyptians. It is certain, however, that the practice of burning the bodies, and of preserving the ashes in urns, prevailed also among the inhabitants of the Cyrenaica, as it did in the other states whose origin was similar.

But the tombs are not the only structures of which the plan and the materials may still be re-

* Proceedings, &c. p. 500, &c.

cognised. The ground on which the city stood is, indeed, so greatly encumbered with decayed vegetables, and a thick stratum of new soil, that it is no easy matter to detect the numerous columns and statues which lie half buried in its bosom. Mr Beechey and his friends discovered the remains of two theatres; but so much was the mould now mentioned heaped about the walls, that, had it not been for the semicircular shape of the green masses which presented themselves to the eye, no one could have suspected they concealed the ruins of large edifices. The pillars which once ornamented the scene in the larger of these buildings had been thrown from the basement on which they formerly stood, and were scattered in various places along the whole length of the range. Among them were several statues, which appeared to have been portraits, executed with great freedom and taste, and beyond were the Corinthian capitals of the columns, which had rolled in their fall to some distance from their position. These, as well as the bases, were composed of a fine white marble, the polish of which was in general very perfect; and the shafts, consisting of a coloured species, were formed of single pieces, which added considerably to the effect produced by the costliness of the material. The able artist, on whose description we now rely, thinks that this theatre must have been Roman, and is disposed to ascribe it to the time of Augustus or of Hadrian. The whole depth of the building, including the seats, the orchestra, and the stage, appears to have been about 150 feet, and the length of the scene about the same. The porticos in the rear of the seats are 250 feet long, and the space be-

tween these and the colonnade at the back of the scene, is of equal extent. The edifice would thus appear to have been comprehended in a square of 250 feet, not including the depth of the portico behind the subsellia, which, it is admitted, is rather uncertain. Like many of the Grecian theatres, it has been built against the side of a hill, which, as at Apollonia, forms the support of the seats, the highest range of which must have been on a level with the platform at the back, from whence the spectators descended to the lower benches. The situation of this place of amusement is said to be extremely delightful, and worthy of a structure which, when perfect, must have been a very beautiful object; the richness of the materials of which the columns were formed adding greatly to its effect, in respect of splendour, if not precisely in point of taste.*

The plan of the other theatre varies materially from that of the one now described, and its proportions are also very different. Instead of being approached from above, like the other, there are five passages by which the spectators entered, and two communicating with some place beneath the front of the stage, which, however, are so much blocked up with rubbish, that it is impossible to explore them. Some rows of seats were found hollow,—a fact which seemed to give a degree of confirmation to a statement mentioned by Vitruvius, that the Greeks were in the habit of placing in the interior of their benches in public buildings a species of brazen vase, by means of which the sound was considerably improved. No materials remain to

* Beechey, p. 503. We quote the opinions of Mr Beechey, the Captain's brother.

confirm the conjecture; for, although the vacant spaces in the subsellia were carefully formed, as if with the view of accomplishing some object, nothing was found in them except a few pieces of pottery.

No part of the stage, if we omit the lower section of a wall, is now standing. The width of the orchestra, where it joins the proscenium, is not more than sixty feet, and its depth about eighty, while the space occupied by the seats could not be more than forty. There are, however, extensive remains of certain buildings which must have been attached to the eastern side of this theatre; so large, indeed, as to have enclosed public walks, and to have been ornamented with numerous porticos and statues. Among these last there is one which, from the Ammon's head, and the eagles which decorate the armour, is supposed to represent a Ptolemy; while near it is another, which must have been meant to do honour to a Berenice, an Arsinoë, or a Cleopatra.

On the outside of the walls, westward of the ancient city, there are the ruins of an amphitheatre, which must likewise have been a striking object. It has been constructed on the verge of a precipice, commanding a most extensive and beautiful view, and receiving in all its purity the freshness of the northern breeze, so grateful in an African climate. Part of it, as usual, is built against the side of a hill, which supported the seats fronting the precipice; and that portion of it which bordered upon the verge of the Desert rose abruptly from the edge, like a stupendous wall, overlooking the country below. The foundations of this part of the edifice appear to have been remarkably strong, and are even now very complete; but the subsellia raised upon them

have been tumbled from their places, and lie around in broken masses. On the side which has the hill for its basis nearly forty rows of seats are still remaining, one above the other; and though each of these is fifteen inches in height, the edge of the precipice appears from the upper range to be quite close to the lowest, although in fact the whole of the arena, not less than 100 feet in diameter, intervenes between them. There are traces of a Doric colonnade along the margin of the cliff, forming the north side of one of the enclosed spaces contiguous to the amphitheatre. The capitals are said to be beautifully executed.

As few remains of dwelling-houses are observed on the northern side of the town, it is supposed not to have been very closely inhabited. There seems, however, to have been no want of public edifices; for travellers have distinguished the ruins of two spacious temples, as well as of the stadium, that ornament of Grecian towns. Of the former, the largest is 169 feet in length and 61 in breadth. The architecture is Doric of the early style; and the capitals, though much defaced, still exhibit proofs of excellent taste and workmanship. The smaller temple, besides being built on rising ground, has the additional elevation of a very solid basement, considerably above the level of the surface. The dimensions are 111 feet by 50. The capitals of some fluted columns lying at the bottom of the eminence are of no decided order, and present, it is thought, a mixture of Greek and Egyptian,—a combination which will not be deemed improbable within the precincts of Cyrene. The stadium has felt more than either of the fanes now described the wasting

hand of time; the course is overgrown with the rankest vegetation, and nearly all the masonry has disappeared. The length is somewhat more than 700 feet, the width being about 250; and, like the theatres, it seems to have had some contiguous buildings subsidiary to its uses, and comprehended in its plan. Still, it is allowed that in the tombs are preserved the finest specimes of Grecian art now extant in Cyrene; nearly the whole of this famed city, including its public and private structures, being reduced to an undistinguishable mass of rubbish.

But there is reason to doubt whether many of the grottos which wear the appearance of repositories for the dead, were not rather originally intended as abodes for the living. This is the opinion of M. Pacho, who found in a mountain between Cyrene and Apollonia a vast number of excavations, which had not in his eyes the slightest indication of a sepulchral design. Some of them are so capacious that you may enter them on horseback. Several are adorned in front with a monolithic portico, and an open hall; others have either a straight or a winding avenue; and one of them is distinguished by a handsome staircase, cut in the solid rock, and adorned with an arched roof of masonwork. This expensive canopy, he thinks, was intended to shelter from the rains the inhabitants of Cyrene, who came hither to inspect the merchandise sent from their port; for, "doubtless," he adds, "these large *hypogeu* were magazines." They have for many years offered a convenient residence to the Arabs of Barca; and whole tribes have successively taken up their abode in them. Hordes of banditti, it is true, have occasionally invaded these peaceful retreats; have driven

away their occupants, and made them a receptacle for their plunder; but their ascendency has never been of long duration. The neighbouring tribes have united; the robbers have been dispersed; and the lawful proprietors have gained possession of their troglodytic town.*

In the ravine beyond the western limits of the city, this traveller discovered an excavation which, in point of magnitude and beauty, surpassed all that he had examined in any other quarter. It appears to be situated about half-way between the bottom of the dell and the level of the plain above, from both of which there are regular approaches cut with infinite care. Having entered the cavern, he found himself in a vast quadrangle surrounded with a low bench. At the farther end is a square altar, above which is a larger niche, designed, as he imagined, to receive the statue of the presiding deity. The walls are overgrown with a rank vegetation, which it is necessary to tear down in order to decipher the inscriptions with which they are covered. It may be seen at the first glance that they belong to very different epochs; every corner of the excavation being bedaubed in the most fantastic manner. Some are deeply engraved in letters of five or six inches long, while others are in so small a character as to be scarcely perceptible. Besides which, here and there occur a number of unconnected names, such as Aristoteles, Alexander, Jason, and Agathocles. It would seem, continues M. Pacho, that the place was an excavated temple, consecrated probably to one of the principal divinities of Cyrene, and that strangers came to visit it in the discharge of a sacred

* Voyage dans la Marmarique, p. 19.

duty. The situation, too, of this religious monument, near the only forest which is found in the vicinity of the town, appears to accord perfectly with the presumed object and origin of this wood; leading back the mind to the very earliest period of the Greek colony in Libya. The majestic cypresses which compose it are thus viewed as the descendants of those trees which the chief of the Battiades consecrated to the service of the gods.*

It is not improbable that the scenes now described gave rise to the fiction of the "petrified village" mentioned by Shaw, and which for a time excited no small interest among the philosophers of Europe. The Tripoline ambassador at London, to whom inquiries were addressed relative to so strange a phenomenon, reported, on the authority of a friend who had been upon the spot, that it comprehended a large town of a circular figure, which had several streets, shops, and a magnificent castle, belonging to it; that his informant saw different sorts of trees, but mostly the olive and the palm, all turned into a bluish or cinder-coloured stone; that there were men also in different postures and attitudes, some of them exercising their trades and occupations, others holding bread and similar articles in their hands; that of the women some were giving suck to their children, while others were sitting at their kneading-troughs; that in entering the castle there was a man lying upon a gorgeous bed of stone, with guards standing at the doors armed with pikes and spears; and that he observed different sorts of animals, such as camels, oxen, asses, horses, sheep, and birds, all of them converted into stone, and of the same bluish colour. Some of

* Voyage, &c. p. 230. Modern Traveller, Africa, vol. i. p. 174.

the figures were said to want their hands, others a leg cr an arm. It was farther related, that several pieces of petrified money had been brought from thence; not a few of which were as large as an English shilling, with a horse's head on the one side and unknown characters on the other.*

The Necropolis of Cyrene, with its numerous statues and chambers, variously coloured, might well suggest to the superstitious mind of an ignorant Bedouin the notion of a petrified town. Della Cella affords the materials of a different explanation, by alluding to the depositions which take place in the natural caves of calcareous mountains. He visited one of these near Safsaf, which, he remarks, had acquired great celebrity from the credulity of the neighbouring inhabitants, who, in the stalactites, discover the images of petrified gods, men, and monsters, every one giving to each fantastical form the name which suits his fancy.†

Dr Shaw had been induced to perform a dangerous journey to Hamam, in Numidia, having been assured by the Arabs, with the most solemn asseverations, that a number of tents might be seen there, surrounded by cattle of different kinds converted into stone. On arriving, however, at the place, he had the mortification to find that all the accounts which he had heard were idle and fictitious, and without the smallest foundation except in the extravagant brains of the natives. He tells us, moreover, that about forty years prior to the time at which he wrote, M. Le Maire, the French consul at Tripoli,

* Travels or Observations relating to several Parts of Barbary, vol. i. p. 286. Edinburgh edition, 1808.

† Travels in Barbary, p. 163.

made inquiry, at the desire of his court, into the truth of the popular rumour as to petrified bodies at Ras Sem. The janizaries, who, in collecting the tribute, travel every year through the district in question, promised to gratify his wishes; adding, however, that, as an adult person would be too heavy to carry, they could only undertake to bring him the body of a young child. After a great many difficulties, delays, and disappointments, they at length produced a little Cupid, which they had found, as he afterwards learned, among the ruins of Leptis, and, to conceal the deceit, they broke off the quiver and some of the other characteristics of this insidious deity. Adepts in fraud, they represented to the Frenchman that, if they had been detected in the act of putting into the hands of an infidel one of the unfortunate Mussulmans whose remains they had visited, they should certainly have been strangled by their countrymen; and, upon the ground of this frightful hazard, they raised a charge for 1000 dollars. In short, his most earnest inquiries, supported by the offer of great rewards, brought nothing to light. After sending a number of individuals expressly, and at no small cost, to make discoveries, he could never learn that any traces of walls, buildings, animals, or articles of furniture, were to be seen within the verge of the petrified district.*

Captain Smyth, of his Majesty's ship the Adventure, like the learned author just named, was prevailed upon to travel as far as Ghirza on a similar mission; being informed by the Sultan of Fezzan, who had recently returned from a marauding expedition, that he passed through the desolate city,

* Travels, vol. i. p. 292.

which abounded in spacious buildings, and was ornamented with such a profusion of statues as to have all the appearance of an inhabited place. This account, supported by several collateral circumstances, impressed him with the idea that it must be the celebrated Ras Sem, and consequently inspired him with a strong desire to repair thither. After a toilsome march of nine days' duration, he was sorely disappointed on seeing some badly-constructed houses, of comparatively modern date, and a few tombs at a small distance. On approaching the latter, he found them of a mixed style, and in very indifferent taste, decorated with ill-proportioned columns and clumsy capitals. The regular architectural divisions of frieze and cornice being neglected, nearly the whole depth of the entablatures is loaded with absurd representations of warriors, huntsmen, camels, horses, and other animals, in low relief. The human figures are miserably executed and generally small, varying, even on the same tomb, from three feet and a half to twelve inches.*

In the neighbourhood the captain observed a monumental obelisk of heavy proportions, and near it four tombs, presenting a similar style and ornaments with those already described. They are remarkable, however, as combining more distinctly a mixture of Greek and Egyptian architecture, and are placed so as to give a singular interest to the scene. A wandering Bedouin, who had resided some time in the valley, produced a fine medal, in brass, of the elder Faustina, which he had found in

* Captain Smyth's Journal is printed in Captain Beechey's work, p. 504-512.

the immediate vicinity. The tombs appear to have remained uninjured by the action of either the sun or the atmosphere, and therefore the sculpture, if such it ought to be called, continues in its original completeness.

As these edifices are near the Fezzan road, people from the interior have been occasionally induced to examine them ; and, being the only specimens of the art they ever saw, they have, not unnaturally, on their arrival at the coast, described them in glowing colours. It is the opinion of Captain Smyth, that it must have been this nucleus, as he calls it, which soon swelled into a petrified city, and, at length, not only attracted the curiosity of Europe, but also obtained general belief in Africa. It has been deemed a species of pilgrimage, as the caravans pass, to resort thither, and to utter or inscribe a prayer for the unhappy Moslem who are confined to that dreary solitude in the form of stone. Notwithstanding the diminutive size and despicable execution of the carved figures, the Turks view them with admiration and respect, extolling the powers of art which, in its imitations, can approach so near to the wonderful works of nature !*

Such was the only direct issue of the journey

* It is still more probable, that the idea of a petrified city has been suggested by the appearance of Cyrene and other towns of the Pentapolis. Bruce, who also visited Ras Sem, remarks, "I was not fortunate enough to discover the petrified men and horses, the women at the churn, the little children, the cats, the dogs, and the mice, which his Barbarian Excellency assured Sir Hans Sloane existed there ; yet, in vindication of his excellency, I must say that, though he propagated, he did not invent this falsehood ; the Arabs who conducted me maintained the same stories to be true till I was within two hours of the place, when I found them to be false." It is deserving of notice, that the Ras Sem of Shaw and Bruce cannot now be identified.

to the petrified city at Ghirza; in the course of which, however, though the result fell short of his expectations, more was obtained and accomplished by Captain Smyth than has yet rewarded the exertions of any other travellers who have compared the actual state of particular districts with the florid descriptions given of them by the Arabs.

As an apology for the deception practised by the natives on themselves, as well as on strangers, it is proper to observe that, in the opinion of Mr Beechey, who accompanied his brother, all the excavated tombs were originally adorned with paintings in body-colour, representing compositions either of figures or animals. The prevailing tints are blue and red. The triglyphs and some other members of the façades were invariably stained blue, the mouldings and other details red; while the larger parts of the entablature seem to have been uniformly left plain. In an excavated tomb with a Doric portico, there was found a series of beautiful little subjects painted on the frieze of an interior façade, each composition occupying one of the metopes. The outline of these highly-finished groups has been very carefully put in with red; the local colour of the flesh and the draperies has then been filled in with body-colours, and the lights touched on sharp with a full and free pencil, greatly resembling the fine execution of the paintings at Herculaneum and Pompeii.

No object at Cyrene appeared more interesting than the Fountain of Apollo, whence issues a stream well calculated to refresh the weary traveller. At the foot of the hill which supplies the water is an excavated chamber, from which there is an opening

cut into the interior of the rock, to a distance not yet ascertained; and along this channel the current flows with great rapidity, till it precipitates itself into a basin formed to receive it on a level with the floor of the apartment. On one side of the cascade are two cellars, or rather one divided into two parts; and in the farther section is a second basin, sunk below the level of the chamber, which appears to have originally communicated with the stream by means of a small aperture in the rock just above it. This reservoir, it is thought, must have been originally devoted to the service of the priests, who had the charge of the sacred fountain, in the performance of their religious ceremonies. Nearly opposite to it is what appears to be the principal entrance, where was found a tablet broken into two pieces, and also the fragment of a fluted column. On the former, which is of white marble, are sculptured three female figures in excellent style, and finished with all the delicacy and taste of the most refined periods. In front of the approach, two porticos appear to have been erected; and on a part of the cliff, at right angles with the face of the precipice, is an inscription in Doric Greek recording the name of the founder.

The channel or passage, we are told, is formed entirely in the rock from which the stream issues, and continues in an irregular course more than a quarter of a mile into the heart of the mountain. The sides and roof of it are flat, where time and the action of the current have not corroded the surface; but the bottom is encumbered with stones bedded fast in the clay. The height in general was about five feet; though in some places where there appear

to have originally been flaws or fissures in the stone, the roof was so much raised as to enable the visiters to stand upright. After advancing about thirteen hundred feet, it becomes so low that a man cannot proceed farther without creeping upon his hands and knees, and then finishes in a small aperture scarcely a foot in diameter, beyond which it is not possible to proceed.*

Captain Beechey mentions a singular fact as to inscriptions found on the sides of the channel into which he and his friends had adventured. They observed that the clay, washed down in considerable quantities by the current, was occasionally plastered against the sides, and smoothed very carefully with the palm of the hand. In this they thought they perceived something like letters, which upon a more minute examination they discovered to be sentences in the Greek language; several of which, from their dates, must have remained on the wet clay more than fifteen hundred years. The preservation of these, says the gallant author, "may certainly be accounted for by the dampness of the place, and its extreme seclusion, which would conspire to prevent the clay from cracking and dropping off, and from being rubbed off by intruders; but we were not prepared to meet with inscriptions engraved on so yielding a substance, and certainly not to find that, having once been written, they should have remained on it down to the present day, as perfect as when they were left there by those

* "The mouth of this fountain," says Della Cella, "is very ingeniously excavated, and is connected with a tunnel extending far into the heart of the hill, into which I penetrated a few yards, notwithstanding the assurances of my guides that it was the usual residence of malignant spirits."

whose visit they were intended to commemorate. They consist, of course, chiefly in a collection of names, many of which are Roman; and the earliest of the most conspicuous dates which we remarked and copied (for it would take whole days to read and copy them all), were those of the reign of Dioclesian. We could collect no other facts from those which we read, than that a priest appears to have officiated at the fountain after Cyrene became a Roman colony, whose name and calling are usually written after the name of the visiter. They are, in general, very rudely scratched with a point of any kind,—a sword or knife perhaps, or the stone of a ring,—and often with the point of the fingers. We observed a few Arabic inscriptions among the rest; but were so much occupied in reading over the Greek ones, in order to gain some intelligence respecting the fountain, which might serve to throw light upon the period at which the channel was excavated, or other questions of interest, that we neglected to copy them. There is an appearance in one of the Greek inscriptions of an allusion to the name of Apollo, the deity to whom we suppose this fountain to have been sacred; but the letters are not sufficiently clear to establish the fact decidedly, although we do not see what other sense could be given to the words in question with so much probability of being that which the writer intended; and it is plain that the sentence, as it now stands, is incomplete. We could not succeed in finding any Greek dates of antiquity, although the Greek names are very numerous; but a person accustomed to the many negligent ways of writing the character, with plenty of time and light at his disposal, might probably succeed in finding

Greek inscriptions of more interest than we were able to discover in the mass of writing here alluded to,—a great portion of which, as might naturally be expected, consists of rude scrawls and hasty scratches. That the fountain continued to be an object of curiosity, and probably of religious veneration, after the cession of the country to the Romans, may, however, be inferred from what we have stated; and a minimum may at least be established with respect to the date of the excavated channel, if we cannot ascertain the precise time of its formation, or whether it was cut at one or several periods. Some hours had elapsed from the time of our entering to that of our reappearance; and we really believe, that the Arabs of the place, who had collected themselves round the fountain to see us come out, were extremely disappointed to find that no accident had befallen any one of the party, in spite of the demons so confidently believed to haunt its dark and mysterious recesses."*

Leaving Cyrene, the traveller whose face is turned towards Tripoli soon finds himself in the midst of beautiful scenery, and on the road to the magnificent plain of Merge, in which was situated the celebrated town of Barca, the second in importance of the whole Pentapolis. The path, deeply marked with chariot-wheels, and thereby indicating

* Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa, &c. By Captain F. W. Beechey, R. N., F. R. S., p. 551. Respecting the allusion to Apollo, Captain Beechey imagines "the words to have been επι ιερεος του μεγιστου Απολλωνος, but the ος is wanting after Απολλων, and the μ in μεγιστου; in which latter word also the ε and γ look more like an α and τ. The rest of the inscription is clear; and were we only to give it as a fragment, επι ιερεος του . . . ιστου Απολλων . . there would probably be no doubt raised with respect to the manner of reading it."

an extensive intercourse when occupied by civilized men, leads through valleys for the most part well cultivated, and ornamented with copses of pine, cedar, laurel, lauristinus, cypress, myrtle, box, arbutus, and numerous stately trees, which were flourishing in the greatest luxuriance. Among these the convolvulus and honeysuckle twined themselves; and red and white roses, marigolds, and other flowers, with a great variety of beautiful ferns, were every where scattered over the contiguous hills. The forms of the landscape were at the same time remarkably picturesque; and here and there a ruin of some ancient fortress, towering above the wood on the edge of a precipice, contributed to give a romantic character to the scene.

Barca, though perhaps more ancient than the establishment of the Greek colony, and unquestionably a place of much consequence, can now hardly be traced in the valley which it once adorned. Its name, which is supposed to be Phœnician, might, perhaps, justify the opinion of those who conjecture that it owed its original foundation to the brother of Dido, though Herodotus, as we have found, states expressly that it was built by the brothers of Arcesilaus, king of Cyrene, who, alienated from his court by some domestic broils, sought for themselves a new residence beyond the limits of his dominion. It was taken and plundered by the Persians under Amasis, who sent many of its inhabitants as prisoners into the territory of his master; but the decay into which it finally sunk is understood to have had its origin in the rise of Ptolemeta, its seaport, now usually ranked as one of the Five Cities. Strabo, Pliny, and some of the older geographers,

assert that the town just named was erected upon the very spot where Barca had stood ; but Ptolemy with greater accuracy fixes the site of the one on the shore, and of the other at some distance in the interior. Scylax, in his Periplus, places the latter about 100 stadia or eight miles from its port,—a circumstance which, in the estimation of Della Cella, tends to conciliate the discordant narratives of the ancient writers, and authorizes him to say, that he discovered the ruins of Barca at a situation in the plain of Merge, about two hours' walk from Ptolemeta, along a very steep path towards the south-east. These ruins consist of tombs, walls fallen down and scattered over a level space, and wells of very great depth, some of which still afford most excellent water.*

The author of the "Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa" remarks, that near the centre of Merge is a ruin now called Marabut Sidi, and also, that a few miles to the south-east of it are the remains of an inconsiderable town, which is said to have been built by a celebrated shereef, but of which, it is added, so little is now standing, that the plan of the buildings could not be satisfactorily ascertained. It is not improbable that this is the same place of which the Italian speaks with so much confidence, as the supposed site of Barca,—an inference which derives no small plausibility from an examination of the physical properties of the soil and the features of the surrounding landscape, all agreeing, in most respects, with those ascribed to

* Travels in Barbary, p. 217. Strabo, lib. xvii. Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. v. c. 5.

the position of the ancient capital of this interesting territory.*

The plain of Merge loses none of its beauties on the western side, where it borders on Ptolemeta, the Ptolemais of the Greek authors and Dolmeita of the modern Arabs. The vicinity of this town is wild and romantic in the extreme; and on approaching it through a deep glen, one might imagine himself transported to the charming secluded valleys of Switzerland or Savoy. It is true, that in the Cyrenaica, nature is on a less-extended scale, but it appears in a form not less captivating on that account; and were a person dropped into the eastern vale of Ptolemeta, he would never for a moment conjecture that he was in Africa,—that parched and desert region, so repulsive to the fancy of a European. This enchanting retreat rises gradually from the sea, winding through forests of pines and flowering shrubs, which thicken as the sides of the mountains become higher and more abrupt, till it loses itself in the precipitous part of the range that bounds it to the southward, and presents a dark barrier of wood shooting up into the clear blue sky. On reaching the opposite end of this verdant amphitheatre a new scene appears. Among the trees which clothe the declivities of the hills are many handsome sarcophagi of Greek and Roman workmanship, all executed in stone, together with seats of the same material for the convenience of those who might choose to repair thither either to indulge their grief or to gratify their taste.

The position of the town, it is observed, has been remarkably well chosen. In its front was the sea,

* Beechey, p. 395.

and on either side a ravine, where are still observed traces of fortifications which must have secured its flanks against any sudden attack; while the only passes by which it could be approached from the high ridge on the south, were defended by strong barriers drawn completely across them. Two bridges appear to have been thrown over each of these hollows, one of which is still somewhat entire. The streets sloping down gradually from the ground which forms the foot of the mountains, were thereby sheltered from the winds heated by the sand of the Desert. Captain Beechey is of opinion, that there is no place on the coast of Northern Africa, between Tripoli and Ptolemeta, which can be compared with the latter for beauty, convenience, and security of situation,—Lebida alone excepted. He observes, however, that when he arrived there, the greater part of the town was thickly overgrown with wild marigolds and camomile, to the height of four or five feet; and patches of corn were here and there growing even within the city-walls. The solitude of the ruins was not broken by animals of any description, except a small number of jackals and hyenas, which strayed down after sunset in search of water, and a few owls and bats, which started out from their retreats when they heard the unwonted sound of the human voice.*

It is reckoned that the walls of Ptolemeta, when entire, must have enclosed a quadrangle of 18,000 English feet in circuit; and the portion which may still be traced from the existing remains surrounds a space of at least 13,000. A line drawn through the centre of the city from north to south, would be

* Beechey, p. 360.

about 4800 feet in length, and that across it from east to west, would be about 4400. The whole circumference of the town, accordingly, must have been somewhat less than three English miles and a half, its length rather short of a mile, and its breadth a little more than three quarters.

Approaching from the west, there is seen an insulated gateway like a triumphal arch, overlooking the desolate ruins. An amphitheatre and two theatres are still visible; the latter are close to the relics of a palace, of which only three columns are standing; and the former is constructed in a large quarry, in which the seats have been partly excavated, those portions only being built which could not be formed in the rock itself. The interior court of the palace is still covered with tesselated pavement, and beneath it are very spacious cisterns, regularly arched, communicating with each other, and receiving air and light from the yard above. Bruce, who, though he confounded Ptolemeta with Teuchira, was certainly here, imagined that the pillars belonging to this building were the remains of an Ionic temple, and even describes them as being executed in the best style of that order. Later travellers have questioned the accuracy of his conclusion, and deny that the appearance of the columns gives any countenance to the opinion he entertained. But were the resemblance to the early Ionic much greater than it really is, the existence of a Greek inscription, which is built into the basement of the columns, bearing the names of Cleopatra and Ptolemy Philometer, together with another turned upside down, mentioning that of Arsinoë conjointly with Ptolemy and Berenice, would pre-

vent the attributing to them an earlier date than the times of the sovereigns whose reigns are commemorated.*

At the north-eastern part of the town, there is a structure of very large dimensions, the outer walls of which are still standing to a considerable height; but it is acknowledged that the plan of its interior is not sufficiently apparent to authorize any conjecture as to the purpose which it was meant to serve. On its northern face are three large quadrangular tablets of stone inserted into the wall, each five feet in length by four in breadth, on which are cut Greek inscriptions; and to the westward and south-westward of this building are many interesting remains of private dwelling-houses, palaces, and baths.

Signor Della Cella, from the inspection of the style of architecture which prevails here, was induced to hold the belief that Ptolemeta must have had an Egyptian origin, or, at least, that many of its public edifices were erected during the period when Cyrenaica was subject to the rulers of the Nile. But it is maintained, on the contrary, by English travellers, that this city presents in its ruins nothing which is not either Greek or Roman; and that the profusion of unnecessary ornament, which generally distinguished the later productions of both these nations, is very different from the manner of decoration observable in such remains as are truly Egyptian. It is not asserted, that there are no examples of good taste at this ancient city; but it appears, that by far the greater part of the buildings now remaining have been constructed since it became a Roman colony, and that there are none to which a

* Beechey, p. 358.

higher antiquity can be assigned than the period at which the country was occupied by the Ptolemies.

At the western extremity of the town, the attention is arrested by a large and very lofty dormitory, constructed on a basis of solid rock, which has been purposely insulated from the quarry in which it stands. It assumes the appearance of a stately tower, and forms a striking feature in the scenery about Ptolemeta, being seen from a considerable distance. It is, indeed, says Della Cella, a magnificent monument, supported by a vast square base cut in the side of the hill. The entrance is of a triangular shape; and within are several rows of cells for the reception of the dead. Supposing that Ptolemy Physcon, the first Egyptian sovereign of the Cyrenaica, laid the foundations of this town, the Doctor concludes that the mausoleum must have been raised by the same hands; since it was useless for the kings who preceded him to have tombs here, when their usual residence was in Egypt; nor is it likely to have been erected after his time, because it cannot be supposed that, with the feelings of his nation in respect to burial-places, he would submit to have a sepulchre undistinguished from those of his subjects.*

Leaving these wrecks of former magnificence, the traveller still enjoys the delight of most beautiful scenery, as he makes his way to Teuchira, another member of the Cyrenaic Pentapolis. The name of this town was changed, when under the dominion of Egypt, to Arsinoë first, and afterwards to Cleopatra; but its original appellation has so far survived the others as to appear in Tauchira or Tocra,

* Proceedings, &c. p. 384. Travels in Barbary, p. 215.

the term applied to it by the modern Arabs. Its history, indeed, occupies no conspicuous place, either in the annals of the Greeks or in those of the Moslem. The fortifications, which were repaired by the Emperor Justinian, remain in a good state of preservation; being built of massy blocks of stone, many of which, from the inscriptions they bear, must evidently have formed a part of more ancient structures.

Though situated near the shore, Teuchira could never have been a seaport, being much exposed to northern gales,* and altogether incapable of receiving any protection from the resources of art. Little now remains within the walls to engage the attention of the architect or antiquary; for, so complete has been the destruction of the houses, public and private, that the eye perceives nothing besides a mass of rubbish, and a few fragments of sculpture lying scattered around. The streets appear to have been built in squares, and to have crossed each other at right angles. One of these must have extended from the eastern to the western gate; and towards the centre of it there were found some columns and the remains of an arch. In various other parts, to the north-east and south-west in particular, there are imposing relics of fallen pillars and entablatures, which have doubtless belonged to sumptuous buildings. There are also some interesting fragments at the north-eastern angle of the city, where part of a quarry has been enclosed within the walls for the better defence of the place: a fortress has likewise been erected at the same point, in an elevated position, which appears to have been the stronghold of the garrison. It is supposed, that in former times there must have been

numerous statues in Teuchira; but few or none have escaped the barbarism of the Vandals, and the ignorant fanaticism of those by whom they were succeeded as masters of the province.*

The ruins of two Christian churches are still distinctly perceptible, in both of which the part devoted to the altar was on the eastern side. The excavated tombs which, after the manner of oriental cities, abound in the neighbourhood, contain a variety of Greek inscriptions; though it must be admitted that, as they are chiefly confined to names and dates, their interest is not very great. It is not unworthy of remark, however, that in one of them was discovered an unquestionable proof of Egyptian ascendency; the titles of the months being expressed in the Coptic language,—the vernacular dialect of the Lower Nile. Many of these caverns, we are told, and probably the most ancient, are now buried under a mass of drifted sand; and among them it is not unlikely that some notices might be detected both entertaining and instructive; though such as were examined did not present any thing of sufficient importance to remunerate the toil and expense necessary to open a passage into their interior. They appear, indeed, extremely rude compared with those of Cyrene and Egypt, and the inscriptions are, for the most part, very imperfectly cut. In general they have only one chamber, three sides of which are in some instances occupied by niches cut into the wall for the reception of bodies. In some of the tombs there are no places discernible for human remains,—a circumstance from which an inference has been drawn that the corpses must

* Beechey, p. 371.

have been burnt, and only the ashes reserved for the funereal mansion. There is no trace of embalming to be discovered either at Teuchira or Ptolemeta; no fragment of a cinerary urn, nor of vases of any description. The dampness of the climate in the winter season would, no doubt, contribute very materially to the destruction of all these remains; but the chief cause, unquestionably, why they have so entirely disappeared, is connected with the usages of the Arabs, who, in the rainy season, convert these dwellings of mortality into residences for themselves and their cattle.*

On the road to Bengazi, the ancient Berenice, there are many tokens of civilisation and improvement, now long neglected by the barbarian inhabitants. Walls, arches, doorways, and pieces of broken columns, attest the industry and skill of former ages, in places where rank grass and neglected shrubs now harbour numerous serpents. At Birsis and Mably,—under the latter of which denominations the term Neapolis is supposed to be concealed,—there are various remains of buildings, which establish the probability that flourishing towns once existed there, and enjoyed the benefits of an enlightened government. The country around, too, is described as at once fertile and lovely, consisting of a plain expanding between the mountains and the shore, covered with flowers, and presenting every symptom of an inexhaustible soil.

As Bengazi itself stretches still farther towards the north, the extent of the level ground between the sea and the hills is much increased, constituting an uncommonly fine district, capable of sup-

* Beechey, p. 373.

porting a large population. But, though the situation be excellent, the town itself is equally destitute of elegance and comfort. The houses are built after the manner usually followed by the Arabs, with rough stones and mud; and in the wet season, accordingly, nothing is more common than to see them melt down into a heap of moist earth. When a cabin falls, it is generally left in a state of ruin, and the family remove to some other spot, without troubling themselves farther about it; the consequence is, we are told, that the streets are often nearly blocked up by mounds of this nature, which form in winter accumulations of mire, and in the dry weather scatter clouds of dust in the eyes of the passengers. There is, however, nothing peculiar to Bengazi in the scene now described, for every Arab town and village presents, more or less, a similar spectacle.

With so many objects to attract them, it cannot be surprising that such a place should be proverbial for flies; and, in fact, we find travellers asserting that, among the various annoyances with which the place abounds, these are, perhaps, the most serious of any, or, at all events, those from which it is least possible to escape. They follow you every where, settle on any part of the arms, legs, and body, which the heat of the weather obliges you to leave uncovered; creep obstinately into the corners of the eyes and up the nostrils, into the hollows of the ears, and often fly down the throat, nearly choking you, should the mouth happen to be open. At meals, every part of the dishes and their contents are covered with them as soon as they are produced; and every fluid becomes a trap for as many of these creatures as can crowd

upon its surface. In short, says Captain Beechey, there is literally no riding or walking, no reading or writing, no eating or resting one's self in any part of Bengazi in comfort for them; and if at night they take up their accustomed position on the ceiling, and give place to the fleas and musquitoes, the first dawn of morning finds them on the wing, and all alive to recommence their operations.*

The harbour, which was at one time safe and capacious, cannot now admit vessels drawing more than seven or eight feet of water; while the fortifications, originally constructed to defend it, are so miserably decayed, that, when a British ship lately approached it, the Bey requested that the usual salutation might be dispensed with, lest the concussion should bring down the walls. Its chief protection, therefore, is supplied by a reef of rocks, which narrows the passage so much that no stranger can enter it without the aid of a pilot.

There is not a single place of amusement or public resort in any part of this gloomy town; its inhabitants idling or sleeping away the greater portion of their time, without appearing to entertain the slightest desire of improving their condition or of enlivening the monotony of their pursuits. As the religion and laziness of a Turk equally prompt him to depend more upon the interposition of Providence than upon his own exertions, he uses no means, and rarely has recourse to any precautions; and hence, centuries after centuries may pass away without witnessing any advancement in knowledge, any redress of grievances, or any progress in the arts which bless and adorn human life. Bengazi is said to contain about

* Proceedings, &c. p. 285-287.

2000 inhabitants, a large proportion of whom are Jews and negro slaves; but the number of persons actually residing in the place is continually varying, owing to the circumstance that many remove to the country whenever the weather permits, to establish themselves in tents made of palm-trees. The Hebrews are a persecuted race, but uniformly steady in the pursuit of riches. As usually happens in Mohammedan states, they are the principal merchants and tradesmen; and their unremitted industry alone enables them to meet the heavy exactions which are made upon their property by the adherents of the prophet.

The site now occupied by this dirty town was, as we have already said, formerly covered by Berenice, and in still more ancient times by Hesperis; but of these famed cities very few remains now appear above ground, to interest the sculptor, the architect, or the antiquary. This total absence of columns and statues is ascribed to a common practice of the Arabs, who, in building their huts, break into small pieces such of the stones belonging to the old edifices as are too large to suit their purpose. Many a noble frieze and cornice, and many a well-proportioned capital, has been crushed under the hammers of these barbarians. Extensive ruins are still found about Bengazi, a little under the surface of the ground; and, accordingly, whenever a house is to be erected, the proprietor, in order to obtain materials, has nothing more to do than to send a few men to excavate in the neighbourhood, where they are sure to find a various and abundant quarry. On the beach, to the north-eastward of the village, where a mound twenty or thirty feet in height is formed of the debris of the

original town, coins and gems are frequently washed down in rainy weather; and, after storms especially, the inhabitants repair to the shore, and sift the earth which falls from this bank, in search of a treasure on which Europeans have taught them to place a high and in some instances an imaginary value.*

Perhaps the most interesting object in this romantic vicinity are the celebrated Gardens of the Hesperides, so long famed in song, and so often described as the only earthly paradise left to the possession of the human race. Along the shore there are some natural chasms or ravines, covered with beautiful shrubs and trees, and having at the bottom a level surface of excellent soil, several hundred feet in extent; so that a person walking over the country comes suddenly upon a delightful orchard, blooming in secret, and in the greatest luxuriance. The effect of these secluded spots, protected, as it were, from the intrusion of mankind by the steepness and depth of the barriers which enclose them, is singular and pleasing in the extreme.

This situation corresponds perfectly with the description of the Hesperides given by Scylax, who represents them as a sequestered spot of about two stadia, or the fifth part of a mile, across, filled with fruit-trees of various kinds, and inaccessible on all sides. He farther relates, that their distance from the port of Barca was 620 stadia, or rather more than sixty of our miles,—a space which agrees very well with the journey from Ptolemeta, the harbour to which he alluded. But all doubt as to the locality ought to be removed by the fact that Bengazi was once called Hesperides, or Hesperis,—a circumstance

* Beechey, p. 316.

which is attested by the high authority of Ptolemy the geographer, Pliny, and Stephanus. Not far from Berenice, writes the Roman naturalist, is the river Lethon, and the sacred grove where the Gardens of the Hesperides are said to be placed.*

The first position of these happy retreats was supposed to be at the western extremity of Libya, being then the farthest boundary of human knowledge in the direction of the setting sun. The ideas with which they were always associated,—a circuit of blooming verdure amid the Desert,—were calculated to make a deep impression on the lively fancy of the Greeks. There was suggested also the image of islands, which ever after adhered to these visionary creations. As the first spot became frequented, it was soon stripped of its fabled beauty; but as so pleasing a notion was not to be easily relinquished, another was quickly found for it; and every traveller, as he discovered a new portion of that fertile and beautiful coast, fondly imagined that he had at length arrived at the long-sought-for Islands of the Blest. In the end, when the continent had been examined in vain, they were transferred to the ocean which washes its western shores. The Canaries, accordingly, having never been passed nor even fully explored, continued to be the Fortunate Islands, not from any peculiar felicity of soil or climate, but merely because distance and imperfect knowledge left full scope to poetical fancy. We find Horace painting their delights and the happiness of their possessors in the most glowing language; describing them as a refuge still left for mortals from that troubled and imperfect enjoyment which they were

* Ptol. Africæ, tab. iii. Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 5.

doomed to experience in every other quarter of this terrestrial globe.*

As Captain Beechey is entitled to the honour of having discovered or identified the pleasant hermitage mentioned by ancient authors, we give the concluding part of the narrative in his own words: "We have shown," says he, "that the nature of the ground in the neighbourhood of Berenice (or Bengazi) is consistent with the account of Scylax; and that places like those which he has so minutely described, are actually to be found in the territory where he has laid down the gardens. This singular formation, so far as we have seen, is also peculiar to the country in question; and we know of no other part of the coast of Northern Africa where the same peculiarities of soil are observable. We do not mean to point out any one of these subterranean gardens as that which is described in the passage quoted from Scylax; for we know of no one which will correspond, in point of extent, to the garden which this writer has mentioned; all of those which we saw were considerably less than a fifth of a mile in diameter; and the places of this nature which would best agree with the dimensions in question, are now filled with water sufficiently fresh to be drinkable, and take the form of romantic little lakes. Scarcely any two of the gardens we met with, however, were of the same depth or extent; and we have no reason to conclude, that because we saw none that were large enough to be fixed upon for the Garden of the Hesperides, as it is described in the statement of Scylax, there is therefore no place of the dimensions

* Murray's Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa, vol. i. p. 8. Horat. lib. i. ode 19; lib. iv. ode 8. Epod. 17.

required among those which escaped our notice; particularly as the singular formation we allude to continues to the foot of the Cyrenaic range, which is fourteen miles distant in the nearest part from Bengazi. At any rate, under the circumstances which are already before the reader, it will not be considered a visionary or a hastily-formed assumption, if we say that the position of these celebrated spots, long the subject of eager and doubtful inquiry, may be laid down with some probability in this neighbourhood. The remarkable peculiarities of this part of Northern Africa correspond (in our opinion) sufficiently well with the authorities already quoted to justify the conclusion we have drawn from an inspection of the ground, and to induce us to place the Gardens of the Hesperides in some one or other of the recesses described, rather than in any of the oases of the Desert, as suggested by M. Gossellin, and others."*

The variety of position assigned by ancient writers to these fairy scenes, is referable, perhaps, not to any precise geographical data, but to the operation of certain secret propensities deeply lodged in the human breast. There arises involuntarily in the heart of man a longing after forms of being, happier and more beautiful than any presented by the creation before him,—bright scenes, which he seeks and never finds in the circuit of real existence. But imagination easily creates them, in that dim boundary which separates the known from the unknown world. In the first discoveries of any such region, novelty usually produces an exalted state of the imagination and passions, under the influence of which every

* Proceedings, &c. p. 325.

object is painted in brighter colours than those of nature. Nor does the illusion cease when a fuller examination proves that, in the place thus assigned, no such beings or objects exist. The soul, as long as it remains possible, still clings to its fond chimeras. It quickly transfers them to the yet unknown region beyond; and, when driven from thence, discovers others still more remote in which it can take refuge. Thus we observe these enchanted spots successively retreating before the progress of discovery, yet finding, in the farthest advance that ancient knowledge ever made, some more distant position to which they could fly.*

Having laid before our readers all the more interesting notices which respect this fine country, originally colonized by the Greeks, and long possessed by the subjects of Rome and Grand Cairo, we proceed to give a brief account of the provincial capital itself and its more immediate dependencies.

* Gossellin, Géographie Ancienne. Malte Brun, Histoire de la Géographie, quoted in Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa, vol. i. p. 7.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Tripoli and its immediate Dependencies.*

Ancient Limits of the Pashalic—Great Syrtis seldom visited—Della Cella and the Beecheys—Ghimines—Forts and Ruins—Tabilba—Remains of a Castle—Curious Arch—Braiga, a Seaport and strongly garrisoned—Thought to be the ancient Automala—Sachrin, the southern Point of the Gulf—Shape of the Bay—Cato, Lucan, and Sallust—Muktar—Hudia—Linoof—Mahiriga—Fortress—Tower of Bengerwad—Supposed to be that of Euphrantas—Charax—Mediuet Sultan—Shuaisha—Hamed Garoosh—Zaffran—Habits of the Natives—Their Dress—The Aspis of Ancient Writers—Giraff—Cape Triero—Mesurata—Salt-marshes—Gulf of Zuca—Lebida—Ruins—Narrative of Captain Smyth—Tagiura—Fertility—Tripoli—Appearance—Tripoli believed to be of Moorish Origin—Old Tripoli destroyed by the Saracens—Opinion of Leo Africanus—Favourable Judgment formed by Mr Blaquiere—Moral Character of the Tripolines—Statement by the Author of Tully's Letters—Description of Tripoli by Captain Beechey—Pasha's Castle—Mosques—Triumphal Arch—Inhabitants divided into Moors and Arabs—Manner in which the Turks spend their Time—Peculiar Mode of conducting Conversation—Bedouins—Their Dress and Manners—The Pianura or Fertile Plain—Visit to the Castle—Magnificence of the Apartments—Pasha's principal Wife—Mode of Salutation—Refreshments—History of Tripoli—Knights of Malta—Rajoot Rais—Admiral Blake—Sir John Narborough—Revolution by Hamet the Great—The Atrocities which attended it—Fezzan—Siwah—Augila—Marabouts—Scene witnessed by Captain Lyon—Drunkenness—Languages spoken at Tripoli.

The proper limits of this pashalic, towards the east, might perhaps be fixed with perfect accuracy at the border of the desert which separates it from

Cyrenaica and the minor dependencies of Egypt. It is true that the territory of Barca, including all the fine lands which lie along the coast, is at present subjected to the ruler of Tripoli, whose authority is partially acknowledged to the very extremity of Marmarica. But it is not less manifest, at the same time, that the ancient boundaries of the Carthaginian State, of which the three cities, Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, made a part, did not extend beyond the remoter verge of the Great Syrtis,—the point marked by the romantic legend of the Philæni,—where the provinces governed by Cyrene may be conceived to have begun.

The dreary space which intervenes between the eastern termination of the Gulf and Cape Mesurata has been seldom trodden in modern times by the foot of a European. Della Cella, the medical gentleman whose work has been so often quoted, attended the son of the pasha on an expedition to the Bay of Bomba; accompanying the army during the whole of their march across the Desert, and sharing deeply in the sufferings and privations which are inseparable from such an undertaking. Captain Beechey, also, with his brother and two other officers, performed, at a somewhat later period, a similar journey; having been appointed by the Admiralty to examine the line of coast from Tripoli to Derna, and if possible to Alexandria. Although the travellers, in both instances, proceeded from west to east, we shall, according to the plan already adopted, arrange our details as if advancing from Bengazi towards the capital; after which, conceiving that the connexion with Egypt, on which we have founded our scheme, shall have been sufficiently consulted,

we will commence our descriptions at the seat of each respective government.

Ghimines, then, is the first station southwards of Bengazi which presents any thing worthy of attention. There are found the remains of several ancient forts, some of which must have been constructed on a peculiar plan. They are built of large stones of very unequal size, put together without any cement, and made to fit into one another in the manner which has been called Cyclopian. Their form is a square with the angles rounded off, and some of them are filled with earth, well beaten down to within six or eight feet of the top, the upper part of the wall being left as a parapet to the terrace thus composed in the interior. In the centre of this artificial mound are sometimes observed the traces of buildings, the roofs of which must have been higher than the outer walls; and a space seems in all cases to have been left between these central chambers and the parapet, in which the garrison might place themselves when defending the fort. An opening like a window was noticed in one of the castles, which may have been used for drawing up those who entered it, as there was no other inlet whatever. The most of these structures have been surrounded with a trench, on the outer side of which there is generally a low wall strongly built with large stones. Some of them, which have been excavated in the solid rock, are of considerable depth and width; and, in one instance, chambers were observed carefully dug in the sides of the trench. In this case, the ditch is about twenty-five feet broad and fifteen deep, the fortress itself being 125 in length and ninety in width. The form is quad-

rangular; and in the centre of each of its sides is a projection, sloping outward from the top, twenty feet in length by twelve, which appears to have served at once as a tower and buttress.

No object of much consequence appears between Ghimines and Tabilba, supposed to be the site of what Ptolemy calls the "Maritimæ Stationes." Here are found the remains of a castle; and on the hill just above it are the ruins of a very strong fortification connected with it by a wall five feet thick, carried quite round the precipice on which it is erected. This was defended on the side towards the land by a fosse thirty feet wide, dug out in the solid stone. The interior of the rock on which the castle stands has been excavated into numerous galleries and chambers, which seem to have answered the purpose of barracks. In one of these are several Greek inscriptions, written with ink on the walls, in what may be called the running-hand of the Lower Empire. In other parts were tombs likewise fabricated in the solid mass, some of which were entered by a quadrangular well, after the manner of those common in Egypt. In the wall fronting the south there was observed, among the rubbish which encumbered it, part of an arch, constructed without a key-stone, of square blocks arranged so as to touch each other at the bottom, and having the interstices above filled with a very durable cement. Examples of similar arches were found in various parts of the Syrtis, as well as of the Cyrenaica, denoting the great antiquity of the buildings to which they are attached.

Proceeding along the coast, amid various ruins and salt-water lakes, the traveller reaches Braiga, a

seaport-town. Judging from the remains of several spacious fortresses, we may conclude that this at one time must have been a strongly-garrisoned place. In a subterranean chamber were seen the representation of a ship and of a palm-tree, sketched on the surface of the cement, which is still as smooth and perfect as the day it was first wrought. The ground about this excavation, and indeed the whole neighbourhood, was strewed with fragments of pottery and glass; among which was picked up a brass coin of Augustus Cæsar in very good condition. On the contiguous hills, too, are the vestiges of sundry forts of the usual quadrangular form, and constructed of large stones very regularly shaped,—all proving that Braiga must have been a military station of considerable importance. Captain Beechey is disposed to identify it with the Automala of Strabo, although he admits that its position does not precisely coincide with the description given by the great geographer, who places it at the most southern point of the gulf, from which it is now distant a few miles. But, except this town, as he justly remarks, there are no ruins on that part of the coast which can be supposed to represent the ancient Automala, the remains of which could not, in any circumstances, have entirely disappeared.

Sachrin is, properly speaking, the bottom of the gulf; and few parts of the world, we are told, could present so truly desolate and wretched an appearance as its shores in this neighbourhood are found to exhibit. Marsh, sand, and barren rocks alone meet the eye, and not a single human being, or a trace of vegetation, is to be seen in any direction. The stillness of the night was not broken even by

the howlings of the jackal or hyena; and it seemed, says Captain Beechey, "as if all the animated portion of creation had agreed in the utter hopelessness of inhabiting it to any advantage."

The form assumed by the southern point of the gulf, or Greater Syrtis, is very different from that commonly represented in maps. Instead of the narrow inlet in which it is usually made to terminate, there was seen a wide extent of coast, sweeping due east and west, with as little variation as possible. The chart ascribed to Ptolemy is the only one extant which approaches to any thing like the actual line of the shore; and every step which modern geographers have receded from this authority has been a step farther from the truth. It is deserving of remark, however, that though the shape of the bay at its southern extremity has been very incorrectly laid down by recent cosmographers, the latitude assigned to it is perfectly exact. Very erroneous notions, too, have been inherited from the ancients in regard to the nature of the soil adjoining the Syrtis. Cato is described as leading his army through deep and burning sands; and Lucan has given so exaggerated an account of the same march, as to make his description almost wholly imaginary. Sallust also, in his story of the Philæni, speaks of the level and sandy plain in which their monuments were erected, without either river or mountain by which the boundaries of the two countries might be marked. But we are assured, that there is not now any plain of this description at the bottom of the gulf; and, on the other hand, that though there is no river, there is a range of hills not less than six hundred feet in height. These

discrepancies, however, must not be held sufficient to invalidate the testimony of respectable authors. On a low coast, composed of loose materials and often beaten by a high sea and violent gales, there will necessarily occur many changes of outline; the shallows are filled up, and new inroads are made upon the land; and hence the narrow wedge-formed inlet, mentioned by Strabo as characterizing the bottom of the gulf, may have long since disappeared, either owing to the Mediterranean having advanced upon its southern shore, as is found elsewhere to be the case, or by the action of the desert-winds loaded with clouds of sand.

Muktar, the next place in succession, is esteemed the boundary of the districts of Sert and Barca, the line being marked, though rather indistinctly, by small piles of loose stones. It seems still to enjoy a trade in sulphur, which is brought to the coast from mines situated in the Desert, and finally conveyed to Braiga, where it is exported. The route of the traveller in this desolate land presents very little variety, being confined to a range of sand-hills and salt-lakes, which invite no inhabitants, rational or irrational, to disturb the solitude. Passing Hudia and Linoof, the weary pilgrim arrives at Mahiriga, where are again discovered the vestiges of civilisation. A quadrangular building, similar to those already described, occupies the summit of an eminence near the sea. No traces remain of its external roof, but part of an arched one is still visible on the ground-floor within, which, from its inferior workmanship, may be attributed to a later age. Marks of walls are also seen in the inside of the building, which have formerly divided it into cham-

bers; though in this case, too, the execution is extremely rude, and denotes a very low condition of the arts. This fortress is surrounded by a wall about a yard in thickness, enclosing a considerable area; but there is nothing resembling a trench. Neither is there any appearance of an entrance in the whole exterior of the structure, the height of which, even to the top of the turrets, is now not more than fifteen or twenty feet.

At the Cape of Bengerwad is a tower, which Captain Beechey imagines must be that of Euphrantas, mentioned by Strabo; and at no great distance are certain ruins, which he is inclined to identify with the town of Charax, commemorated by the same geographer. Owing to the cliff on which it stood having given way, the greater part of the building has fallen down upon the beach; but though, in consequence of this accident, little of the plan can be satisfactorily made out, it is clear that it must have been a stronghold of no small importance. On both sides it would command an extensive view of the sea, and it still overlooks many remains of edifices scattered over the plain in its rear. This situation, indeed, appears so well calculated, both by nature and art, for the establishment of a boundary-line, that the fort is regarded as having been the main defence on the common limits of Carthage and Cyrene in the time of the Ptolemies. In fact, the tower of Euphrantas is so described by Strabo; and of all the ruined fortresses on this portion of the Greater Syrtis, no one accords so aptly with the delineation of that learned author, as the lofty structure at Bengerwad. Still, so little is said by the Greek writers respecting the buildings along the margin of the gulf, that it

must be always extremely difficult to assign any other name to the relics of forts and towns, than those by which the Arabs of the country are now pleased to distinguish them. Charax is pointed out by the great geographer as occurring, after the tower just described, to a person travelling from west to east; but, before the position of this town can be ascertained, it will be necessary to decide upon that of Euphrantas, which, in a district presenting a continued chain of forts from one end to the other, cannot be easily accomplished.

Medinet Sultan has also been an important military station, as may be inferred from the extensive fortifications, of which it still presents the outlines. Though the plan of the buildings be in a great measure perfect, that of the walls could not be satisfactorily made out. Within a quadrangular enclosure is a subterranean storehouse or reservoir, which appears to have been first excavated in the soil, then formed with rough stones, and, lastly, coated with an excellent cement, yet remaining almost wholly entire. There are several chambers, in some of which it was hoped inscriptions might be obtained, indicating the date and purpose of the work; but in this respect curiosity was altogether disappointed, no writing being discovered except a few scrawls in the Arabic character. In the neighbourhood are the remains of the town itself, which continues to retain the proud title of Medina, or The City, where, however, its greatness has no other memorial besides some good wells and tanks,—a valuable distinction, no doubt, in all parts of Northern Africa.

Having passed Shuaisha and Hamed Garoosh, the country assumes a more pleasant aspect. The

hills are higher, and the valleys better cultivated. Flocks of sheep and goats also begin to appear; and the sportsman finds hares, plovers, quails, curlews, and wild ducks. But the traveller, amidst the melancholy waste, perceives nothing to awaken his recollection or amuse his fancy until he reach Zaffran, one of the most agreeable stages on the long journey from Bengazi to Tripoli. Della Cella describes it as adorned with meadows, full of an elegant species of ranunculus, with very large and white flowers, and abundantly supplied with good water. Fragments of hewn stone, also, occasionally observed among the sand, gave proof that this part of the coast must at one time have been inhabited; and, indeed, Strabo mentions several ports near the bottom of the gulf, the site of which corresponds not inaptly with that of the ruins, which may still be detected by a careful eye. But the labour of identifying ancient towns, in a country so little known to the Greeks and Romans, has not hitherto been attended with any degree of success. Even in modern times, this portion of Africa is usually avoided by travellers, who, unless escorted by a strong military force, and armed with despotic power over the persons and property of the natives, would find it impossible to traverse their wild domains.

The Arabs who occupy the pasture-lands on the eastern limits of the Barcean Desert are still in a very low degree of civilisation. The men pass their lives in the most complete idleness, stretched out in their tents, or seated with their heads between their knees, incessantly chewing tobacco and small bits of natron, which they procure from the interior, and is supposed to be that singular species of lami-

nated carbonate of soda, which is found two days' journey from Fezzan, and annually brought in large quantities to Tripoli. It is somewhat remarkable that the same mineral is gathered near the lake of Salaguarilla, in the province of Venezuela, in South America, and is used by the inhabitants of the country in the mastication of tobacco, in a manner very similar to that followed in the northern shores of Africa. Spinning and weaving camlets are the ordinary occupations of the women, who are said to be very awkward at their work. The art is so little improved, that their instruments are exactly the same as they were in the age when they were first invented. The piece of stuff which is woven upon them looks more like matting than woollen cloth; but, owing to the excellent quality of the materials, it is extremely soft, and feels like plush. They are equally ignorant in the art of spinning, and of preparing the wool. Seated upon the ground, they put a heap of it under their feet, and, seizing a tuft of it, pass it between their toes, pulling and tearing it upwards till they fasten it to a sort of spindle, round which they wind the coarse thick yarn which they thus produce.*

The inhabitants of Zaffran are Bedouins, as are those of all the parts of the Syrtis,—there not being a single inhabited town or village between Mesurata and Bengazi. We found them, says Captain Beechey, hospitable and obliging, and never entered one of their tents without receiving a cordial reception; their simple fare of milk and dates was always freely offered, and our horses were regaled with a feed of corn, which they usually found very accept-

* Travels, &c. p. 199.

able. Fresh milk was not always to be had; but they were never without a good supply of lében (sour-milk, or, more properly, butter-milk); and we were seldom unwilling to alight from our saddles to take a draught of this patriarchal beverage, which a long day's hard riding, through a country without roads, and under the influence of an African sun, made infinitely more palatable than will easily be imagined by those who can spare it for their pigs.*

The men are said to be healthy and active, and the females pretty and well behaved. The dress of the former consists merely of a coarse baracan, with a red cap, and sandals of camel's hide. The women wear a loose cotton shirt under the baracan, and, instead of the sandals, are furnished with laced boots. They have, as usual, a profusion of rude ornaments, and charms to avert the evil eye, and are not a little anxious to keep their faces veiled, or to avoid the society of strangers.

The seabeach in this neighbourhood presents a very singular and even formidable appearance, occasioned by large blocks of stone thrown ashore and piled up by the force of the waves. The apparent regularity in which these masses are heaped upon one another, suggests, at first view, the idea that they were intentionally placed there for the purpose of a breakwater; but the long extent of the ranges soon exposes the improbability of this supposition, and leaves no doubt as to the real cause by which the phenomenon has been produced. The roar and confusion which a moderate gale of wind produces here, are such as in other places will be seldom found to accompany the most violent weather.

* Proceedings, &c. p. 165.

Zaffran is considered as the Aspis of ancient writers, and Merza Zaffran as the port of that city. From certain facts and measurements mentioned by Edrisi, Leo Africanus, and others, it is supposed that Sert, a celebrated town, must have stood at no great distance. But the argument on which these conclusions are founded is much too minute to be introduced here, and is besides of very little interest to the general reader. Nor do the difficulties which beset the antiquary in this instance receive any aid from the chronologer; for an equal darkness hangs over the names and dates of most of the places which arrest the attention of a European between Mesurata and the Pentapolis. It is conjectured, indeed, with some show of reason, that the majority of them were erected by the Romans during the imperial government, as they possessed at various times the whole of the northern coast of Africa, and maintained an extensive communication along the shores the Mediterranean, and even with the lands beyond the Desert.

At Giraff a salt marsh or lake commences, which continues nearly to the termination of the Greater Syrtis. The scenery is extremely wild and desolate, exhibiting little besides mounds of sand, and ruins of which the very names have perished. At Arar were found some wells excavated in a bed of sandstone, containing the exuviæ of marine animals united by a calcareous cement. This stratum cannot be very thick, for the water issues from the sides of the cavity, at the depth of five or six feet, and soon clarifies itself when allowed to stand. Pliny was of opinion that the facility of obtaining this indispensable liquid is occasioned by a process of filtra-

tion, whereby the rains which fall on the mountains of Mauritania are conveyed under the surface to a great distance on either side. Nor, according to the judgment of the author of the Travels in Barbary, was the Roman naturalist wrong in ascribing the origin of these wells to the floods in the hilly district, which, not finding a channel to convey them to the sea, stagnate under the immense heaps of sand with which this coast abounds. The water does, no doubt, taste brackish to lips accustomed to the limpid streams of Europe; but, as the proportion of salt is really inconsiderable, it is presumed that the supply of moisture is not derived immediately from the ocean. In fact, the elevation at which such wells are dug must preclude the supposition that they could ever be filled by a natural oozing from the basin of the neighbouring deep; and hence the water obtained from them must have some connexion with the peculiarity of the soil, which, however parched on the top, is abundantly moist at a little depth.*

After a march of two hours, the promontory which begins at Mesurata sinks into the Mediterranean at the place called by Ptolemy Cape Triero. From this point the eye commands nearly the whole of the vast gulf known as the Greater Syrtis, as well as of the desert regions by which it is bordered; and we can well believe that the heart of the traveller shrinks at the sight of such melancholy solitudes, where the earth is destitute of its usual covering, and the surface so flat that not a single

* "Puteos tamen haud difficilis binum fermè cubitorum inveniunt altitudine, ibi restagnantibus Mauritaniæ aquis."—Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. v.

hillock can be descried. The shores of this dangerous recess were lately occupied by the tribe of the Welled Ali, who, rebelling against the Pasha of Tripoli, were utterly exterminated by the bey, his eldest son. Secure in the strength of their wilderness, they assassinated with impunity every one who attempted to pass through it; and the mariner, dreading these miscreants still more than tempests and quicksands, carefully avoided their inhospitable coast. The head of the barbarian who commanded this savage horde was fixed upon a pole at the extremity of the gulf, in the year 1817, when Della Cella performed his journey to the Cyrenaica.

At Mesurata there is a town of the same name, about a mile from the sea, the houses of which are said to be wretchedly constructed, and for the most part separated from each other by gardens or vacant ground. They are not more than ten feet in height, built of pebbles cemented with mud; the roof being nothing more than palm leaves and straw interwoven, laid upon rafters, and daubed over with a mixture of sand and slime. The inhabitants derive their chief subsistence from the produce of the soil; but there are also some manufactories of carpets and other goods, the principal beauty of which arises from the fine quality of the native wool employed in their fabric. Caravans go from hence to Fezzan and Wady Ghraât with cotton cloth, camlets, and coloured beads, the most envied ornament of the sable maidens on the banks of the Joliba; for at the latter of these stations they meet the negro merchants from the regions beyond the sands, who carry those articles to Timbuctoo, in exchange for gold-dust, ivory, and slaves.

It has been already mentioned, that salt-marshes prevail along the greater part of the coast, interspersed with pools of open water; around which, in the sand, are numerous incrustations of marine salt, in such abundance, too, that it is heard crackling under the feet of the horses and camels as they pass over it. This phenomenon is mentioned by Herodotus as existing upon the border of that vast desert, which he describes as extending from Egyptian Thebes, across the country of the Ammonians as far as the Pillars of Hercules; in other words, on the edge of the Sahara, where the surface of the sandy waste is still found mixed with the muriate of soda. But the Italian physician maintains that these marshes have no communication with the ocean; observing that all the wilderness is sprinkled over with small crusts, and that the hills which run towards the swamps are composed of the same materials, with this difference only, that the sand of the high ground is aggregate and compact, while that of the plain is loose and light. Notwithstanding, it is acknowledged that in some parts the pools of salt water, the incrustations, and more especially the masses of marine salt, leave no doubt that the Mediterranean must have passed over the lower part of the coast at a comparatively recent period.*

In truth, the occasional spreading of the sea over those desolate shores has given rise to the notion of a bay or inlet, which is supposed to extend about fifty miles into the interior. By D'Anville this indentation is called the Gulf of Zuca; while it is laid down in the same dimensions by Arrowsmith, who does not, however, venture to give it a name.

* Travels in Barbary, p. 62.

To account for this mistake, Della Cella reminds his readers that the country contiguous to this part of the Great Syrtis is flat, and very little raised above the ordinary level of the sea; that though the shores are lined with sand-hills, they are frequently dispersed by hurricanes, and even shift their position from other causes; that in winter the waves are forcibly driven upon the coast; and that the currents, running from north to south, greatly increase the body of water on the African side during the same season of the year. Hence, he is disposed to conclude that, under these circumstances, the sea, breaking down the sandy ramparts on the beach, spreads itself over the adjacent plains and inundates a considerable tract of country. It accordingly happens, that the vast pools of salt water, which commence between Arar and Segamengiura, although often disunited, form in winter one very spacious lake communicating with the sea, and continuing as long as the causes just specified keep up its level to a certain height. When those causes cease to operate, the communication is interrupted; the return of heat promotes evaporation; the lake dwindles into a variety of small pools; the spots from which the water has retired remain marshy; and their edges, as soon as they have dried, present abundant deposites of marine salt. The stratum of sand which covers these deposites is no obstacle to the process of evaporization; for as the whole soil is light and hot, the escape of the aqueous particles is thereby rather facilitated than checked.*

Leo Africanus has adverted to Mesurata as a province on the coast of the Mediterranean, distant

* Narrative of an Expedition, p. 65.

about a hundred miles from Tripoli. He states, that it contains many castles and villages; some on heights, and others on the plain; adding, that the inhabitants were excessively rich, owing to their attention to commerce and exemption from tribute. In his days they were in the habit of receiving foreign wares, brought to them by the Venetians, and of carrying them into Numidia, where they exchanged them for slaves, civet, and musk, from Ethiopia, which they afterwards sent to the Turkish market. The population of the district is supposed to amount to fourteen thousand, the greater part of whom are employed in the manufacture of carpets, straw-mats, and earthen jars. Their gardens, which are carefully enclosed, produce abundance of dates, olives, pomegranates, pumpkins, carrots, onions, turnips, radishes, tobacco, and cotton. But the place, it is obvious, is not now so flourishing as it was in the days of Leo, and its trade appears to be exceedingly trifling.

After Selin, which has nothing particular to recommend it, succeeds Zeliten, a small town containing about five hundred souls. The houses, as usual, are built with mud and rough stones; the roofs being formed of mats and the branches of trees, covered with a coating of earth. The numerous ruins which exist in the vicinity, and the frequent appearance of marble columns projecting through the mean walls of the cottages, seem to indicate its former magnificence as the "Cisternæ Oppidum" of Ptolemy. The port, which still bears the name of Mersa Zeliten, is described as an insignificant cove that would scarcely afford shelter to a boat. The district enjoys, however, the advantage of

a copious supply of water, which might indeed be rendered much more valuable, could the Arabs be taught to exercise a little industry and foresight.

The same author writes in high terms concerning the productiveness of the plain which stretches from Lebida to Cape Mesurata. It appears, in truth, to have been the most populous part of Libya in the time of Herodotus, who compares its exuberant fertility to that of the country round Babylon, then esteemed the richest soil in the world. Nor is this extraordinary degree of fruitfulness owing, in any measure, to the skill or assiduity of the inhabitants, but proceeds solely from the generous nature of the land, which is spontaneously covered with palms and olive-trees, entire strangers to cultivation.

In this neighbourhood is the Cinyphus, now called the Wady Khahan, which is said by Ptolemy to flow from certain eminences in the interior, styled the Hills of the Graces. There is a passage in Strabo which is considered as leaving no doubt upon the subject, for he speaks of a bridge constructed by the Carthaginians across the morasses; and the remains of the piles which supported the arches of such an edifice are still to be seen there. He likewise says, that the surrounding country was frequently inundated by the torrent; and such is the case at present during the rainy season. The people of Leptis were probably supplied with water from the Cinyphus,—the remains of an aqueduct, extending from the ruins of the bridge to that town, being still visible.

Of Lebida itself, the Leptis Magna of former ages, nothing now appears, except some shapeless ruins scattered about, and half buried under the mounds

of sand, which the wind and waves mutually strive to accumulate upon the seashore. They consist of the remains of magnificent edifices, dilapidated towers, shattered columns of red granite, broken capitals, and fragments of every species of marble; among which the Parian, the Pentilic, and the oriental porphyry, are the most conspicuous, and particularly worthy of admiration. This city is understood to have been founded in remote ages by the Phœnicians, and long afterwards to have been a Roman colony. In such a heap of rubbish, it is not easy to point out any vestiges of the more primitive structures; but those of Italian origin are sufficiently denoted by the style of architecture, and the ornaments of the capitals. It is well known, so grand were some of the edifices erected by those masters of the ancient world, that seven granite pillars, of an immense size, were, on account of their uncommon beauty, transported to France, and used in ornamenting one of the palaces built for Louis the Fourteenth.

The account of Lebida given by Captain Smyth, published in the Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa, is extremely interesting; and as he had the command of a larger portion of time than usually falls to the lot of an ordinary traveller, the details with which he supplied his friend Captain Beechey merit a due share of attention. He relates that he first visited it in 1816, to ascertain whether it were possible to embark the numerous columns lying on its sands, which the Pasha of Tripoli had offered to his majesty. These remains had, in his eyes, a very interesting appearance, from the contrast of their fallen

grandeur with the mud-built villages, and the huts of the Nomadic tribes around. The city, with its immediate suburb, seemed to occupy a space of about ten thousand yards, the principal portion of which is now covered with a fine white sand, that, drifting along the beach, has been arrested by the ruins, and proved the means of preserving the pillars, capitals, cornices, and sculptured fragments, which it partly covers. On his return the following year, he was surprised to find that most of the valuable columns which were standing the preceding May, had either been removed, or were lying broken on the spot, and that nearly all of those remaining had their astragal and torus chipped off. He discovered that a report had been circulated of his intention to carry them to England; and as this scene had long been a quarry whence the Arabs provided themselves with mill-stones, they had, in the mean time, been busily employed in breaking the finest shafts as a supply for their future wants in so necessary a branch of domestic economy.

Notwithstanding these discouraging appearances, he engaged a hundred Arabs to assist him in effecting an excavation near the centre of the city, in the hope of laying bare some specimens of ancient art. But he soon had the mortification of perceiving, that Leptis had been completely ravaged in former times, and its public edifices demolished with diligent labour; owing, perhaps, to what he calls the furious bigotry of the Carthaginian bishops, who zealously destroyed the Pagan monuments in all places under their control. From whatever cause it proceeded, the destruction is complete. Most of the statues are either broken to pieces or hammered

into shapeless masses, the arabesque ornaments defaced, the acanthus-leaves and volutes knocked off the fallen capitals, and even part of the pavements torn up, the shafts alone remaining entire. With the view of receiving farther information, he opened an extensive necropolis or burialplace, but with little success. There were neither vases nor lachrymatories; and his labour met with no reward besides a coarse species of amphoræ and some pateræ, with a few brass coins, neither rare nor handsome, and principally dated in the reigns of Severus, Pupienus, Alexander, Julia Mammea, Balbus, and Gordianus Pius. A number of intaglios, poorly executed, were picked up in different parts, as also some very common Carthaginian medals, but nothing indicating high antiquity, or an improved state of the arts.

In the course of this excavation, Captain Smyth had an opportunity of observing proofs of the fact already stated by us, that the greatness of this city must have been posterior to the Augustan age, when taste was on the decline. The colossal statues were in bad style, and most of the buildings had been overloaded with indifferent ornament. Without the gates, there are the remains of various aqueducts and reservoirs, some of which are in excellent preservation. Indeed, the whole plain, from the Margib Hills to the Cinyphus, exhibits unequivocal tokens of its ancient opulence and vast population. The gallant officer expresses his regret that no works of art, properly so called, were recovered from the wreck of this provincial metropolis. He consoles himself, however, with the recollection, that during the summer of 1817 many of the architec-

tural fragments were moved down to the beach, where they were put on board a storeship for England; together with thirty-seven shafts, which formed the principal object of the expedition, and are now deposited in the court of the British Museum. But the vessel, unfortunately, was too small to admit three fine Cepolline columns of great magnitude, which, from their extreme beauty and perfection, he was extremely desirous to have removed.*

Mr Lucas, speaking of the remains of Lebida, observes, that they consist of the ruins of a temple, and several triumphal arches. The fertility and beauty of the neighbouring plains discover the reasons which induced the Romans to erect a seaport-town in a place where there is no natural harbour. A luxuriant vegetation, totally unaided by the Arab inhabitants, extends twenty-five miles to the eastward, and the interest of the scene is increased by the remains of a stupendous aqueduct, which conveyed water from a distant source. Mr Blaquière mentions, that there are gateways, walls, an immense number of pillars, some of which are of the finest granite, broken statues, and marbles, with inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and Punic characters. There are also a great many sculptured friezes, which appear to have belonged to temples; the remains of several Roman baths are visible near the city;† and about a mile distant is an oblong terrace of fine Roman pavement, apparently connected with an ancient theatre. Cameos, coins, medals, and bronzes, are frequently found by the natives, who

* Proceedings, &c. p. 74.

† Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 19. Edition 1813.

sometimes take them to the town for sale, but as often destroy them from motives of superstition.

In approaching the capital, the attention is attracted for a moment by some pleasant villages, distinguished by the name of Tagiura, and which are supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Abrotonum. These hamlets are surrounded by enclosed fields, yielding abundant crops of corn, fruit, and vegetables, and shaded by thickly-planted trees, among which are the olive and date. According to Della Cella, the inhabitants of the plain between Tripoli and this station have made it a theatre of rural industry. It is a tract of coast about twelve miles in length and three in breadth, bounded to the south by shifting sands, which divide it from the mountains of Gharian. Among the plantations of palm-trees are many delightful gardens, full of lemon and orange trees, and protected by impenetrable fences composed of the Indian-fig. Tagiura contains about three thousand inhabitants, chiefly Moors and Jews, whose houses are dispersed in groups over the face of the country, and who, besides their labours as husbandmen, engage in the manufacture of coarse camlets, and mats made of leaves. At a little distance are a variety of Bedouin tribes, who feed their flocks on the edge of the Desert, as well as on an extensive plain called Turot, the verdant pastures of which are most grateful to the eye. If the industry of these people were supported by the government, their lands might always be kept fresh by moisture from the hills, and rendered incredibly fertile.*

But there is nothing in the character or manners

* Narrative of an Expedition, p. 22.

of these migratory herdsmen so interesting as to justify farther details. We therefore proceed to Tripoli itself, the history and present condition of which abound with incidents at once more important and intelligible to the reader, and which, though they are regulated by principles not a little different from those which influence the current of events in civilized countries, begin to assume a closer affinity to the politics of Europe.

It has been already mentioned, that the State of Tripolis derived its ancient name from the three towns, Leptis Magna, Oea, and Sabrata; the domain attached to which may be described as extending from the Gulf of Sidra, or the Greater Syrtis, to that of Cabes, or the Lesser Syrtis. The modern city, which bears the somewhat altered appellation of Tripoli, is understood to occupy the site of Oea; being washed by the sea on the north and east, while on the other two sides it is invested by a sandy plain. It is true that Oea is nowhere mentioned as a port, whereas the town by which it has been succeeded must always have touched the shore; but as the Greek geographers were not very particular in their distinctions, the objection which might be drawn from the circumstance now stated is not held of much weight.

Before the building of the present town, believed to be of Moorish origin, there was one denominated Tripoli Vecchia, elevated on the ruins of Leptis Magna, which, again, owed its foundation to the Phœnicians at a very remote period. The old Tripoli was destroyed by the Saracens, under the caliphate of Omar, who, after a siege of six months, demolished its walls, and carried the great-

er part of the inhabitants prisoners into Egypt. This event is recorded by Leo Africanus, who remarks at the same time, that the unfortunate city had been erected by the Romans, and that the one which inherits the name was built by the natives of Africa. Leo does not assign a date for the birth of the second Tripoli, nor does he any where intimate that it was placed among the ruins of Oea,—a town which was also indebted for its principal ornaments to the imperial government. A magnificent arch, still remaining, is sufficient to establish these facts; while an inscription, not yet defaced by the hand of time, distinctly refers its date to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The African geographer has taken pains to inform us, that the houses of Tripoli, when compared with those of Tunis, are extremely elegant. But this distinction, if it ever existed, must have passed away; for the rude and dilapidated masses of mud and stone, which now present themselves to the eye of the traveller under the name of dwellings, have, indeed, very little of architectural beauty to recommend them. In entering its gates, those who are not accustomed to Mohammedan negligence might imagine that they had wandered into some deserted and ruinous place, though they be actually traversing the most admired streets of a fashionable quarter. This impression, so far as Europeans are concerned, is unavoidable; but the inhabitants themselves are strongly convinced of the beauty and convenience of their capital; while the wandering Arab, when he approaches its ramparts, looks up to the high and white-washed walls of the pasha's castle, expressing vividly in his countenance the astonishment he

feels, that human hands and ingenuity could have accomplished such a structure !*

Mr Blaquière has a more favourable opinion of Tripoli, which, he says, might be taken as a model by some European towns in the Mediterranean; and, though it possesses neither the elegance nor regularity of Valetta, you never hear of acts of violence being committed in the streets, and robberies are altogether unknown. This is the result of a well-regulated police, for which all the towns of Barbary are very remarkable; for, independently of a night-patrole, there is a guard stationed in each street, who is responsible for whatever may occur in it of an improper nature. There is besides always a number of people kept for the express purpose of sweeping the town,—a precaution of the greatest utility, and to which, amongst others, we may attribute the health generally enjoyed by the inhabitants.

But it must not be concealed, that his estimate of the moral character of the Tripolines themselves is by no means so flattering. He assures his readers, that he has been unable to discover any good qualities which might be put in contrast with their revenge, avarice, treachery, and deceit, conspicuous alike in the prince and the peasant. In fact, there is no species of artifice which a Moor will not practise to attain his object; no lies nor imposture to which he has not recourse when dealing with foreigners. Menaces and threats are sometimes employed by the higher order of society; while the Arabs pride themselves in the success of their attempts to impose quietly on your credulity. Stabbing with a knife

* Beechey, p. 6.

is the usual result of a serious dispute between soldiers or sailors. Civilians, on the other hand, are said to gratify their resentment against each other by administering poison in a cup of coffee; and this mode of removing an enemy or a rival has become so common, that when any person dies suddenly, people say, "He has taken his coffee!" The medicated beverage is sometimes given with the view of producing instant dissolution, and at others with the intention of prolonging the victim's miseries for several months.

But it is admitted by all travellers, that the distant view of Tripoli, especially from the Mediterranean, is grand and not a little imposing. Previously to entering the bay, says an author who spent several years in Northern Africa, the country is rendered picturesque by various tints of beautiful verdure. No object whatever seems to interrupt the evenness of the soil, which is almost white, and interspersed with long avenues of trees; for such is the appearance of the numerous palms, planted in regular rows, and kept in the finest order. Their immense branches, coarse when near, are neat and distinct at a distance. The land lying low and very level, the naked stems of these trees are scarcely seen; and the plantations of dates seem to extend many miles in luxuriant woods and groves. The whole town appears in a semicircle some time before reaching the harbour's mouth. The extreme whiteness of the buildings, flat, square, and covered with lime, encountering the sun's fiercest rays, is not less striking than oppressive. The baths form clusters of very large cupolas, crowded together in different parts of the town. The mosques have in general a

small plantation of Indian-figs and date-trees growing close to them, which, at a distance, appearing to be so many rich gardens, give to the whole city, in the eyes of a European, an aspect truly novel and pleasing. On entering the harbour the town begins to show what it has suffered from the destructive hand of time,—large hills of rubbish appearing in different parts of it. The castle or palace in which the pasha resides is at the east end, within the walls. This edifice is very ancient and well-enclosed. It has, however, lost all symmetry on the inside, from the innumerable additions made to it with the view of accommodating the different branches of the royal family, none of whom are permitted to live elsewhere. In fact, it has gradually increased to such an extent as to have assumed the appearance of a fortified village.*

This description coincides exactly with that given by Captain Beechey. He tells us, that the outline of Tripoli is extremely irregular, and that, though the walls which encompass it seem to have been very strong, they are fast falling into ruins. The ramparts are provided with a few guns, which, however, are for the most part unserviceable, and more likely to injure those whom they are meant to protect than to annoy an enterprising enemy. In truth, the pasha does not rely upon the artificial defences of the place for security against the aggressions of a European fleet. He has much more confidence in that jealousy which has hitherto prevented the great Christian governments from co-operating together for a common object, and, more especially, for establishing colonies on the shores of

* Tully's Letters, p. 16.

Barbary, though their own reputation, and the lives and properties of their subjects, require that they should at all hazards attain an undisputed ascendency over those piratical tribes who have so long infested the Mediterranean.

The grand mosque, in which the pasha's family are buried, is said to have a very handsome exterior. It stands in the main street, near the southern gate of the city, and almost opposite to the palace. Before the entry there is a species of portico fabricated of lattice-work, curiously carved, and two folding-doors of the same material; while a great number of beautifully-coloured tiles, with which the bottom of the lattice-work is set, give it an appearance of neatness very pleasing to the eye. Over the doors of all the mosques are long sentences from the Koran, cut in stone and painted. Those on this edifice are not only more richly gilt and coloured, but the sculpture is also much handsomer than on any other in the town.*

The principal specimen of antiquity now remaining is the triumphal arch already mentioned, built of fine marble and ornamented with sculpture and inscriptions. The greatest part of this beautiful monument is buried in the earth, which reaches nearly to the middle of it; and the upper part has received considerable damage from the accidents of war and the ignorant curiosity of the natives. It was erected by the Consul Scipio Œfritus, in the days of Pius Antoninus, and afterwards dedicated to the honour of his successors. We are told that it is esteemed by all good judges as more striking than any of the most celebrated in Italy; as the temple

* Tully's Letters, vol. i. p. 14.

of Janus at Rome, though constructed of marble, and regarded as one of the finest of these edifices, has only a plain roof. It does not appear so high as it really is, owing to the great accumulation of sand carried thither by the winds; and this is the reason why there is as much of the structure now under the surface as can be seen above it. The stones of which it is composed are so extremely large, that it seems wonderful how they could be conveyed from the quarry; and, in a country and an age so destitute of mechanical means, it is perhaps not less surprising how they were raised to such a height from the ground. No cement has been used to fasten them together; yet, so solid are they, that, so far as the ravages of time are considered, the pile may be pronounced quite uninjured The ceiling is of the most beautiful sculpture, a small part of which only remains in view, as the Moors, blind to its beauties, have for some time filled it up with rubbish and mortar, to form shops or warehouses in the interior of the arch. On the outside are enormous groups of whole-length figures of men and women, exhibiting allegorical scenes, or, it may be, representing some of the more important facts of history. Europeans, it is said, are often tempted to bring these antiquities to light, and they might doubtless make great and useful discoveries; but the jealous Turks will not permit them to disturb a stone, or move a grain of sand, on such an account; and repeated messages have been sent from the castle on these occasions to warn Christians of their danger.*

The inhabitants may be divided into Moors and Arabs, the former having a fair complexion, while

* Tully's Letters, vol. i. p. 18.



Rich Moor and Female.

the latter are in general dark and sallow. They are all remarkable for regular and athletic forms, and a cripple or deformed person is rarely seen amongst them. There are, besides, some Turks and Jews, together with a certain proportion of negroes and European renegadoes. As the pasha affords little countenance to the Moors, who have, therefore, but a very small chance of rising in the offices of government, they apply themselves to trade, to manufactures, and even to agriculture, whence many of them have acquired considerable wealth. The cut inserted above represents a couple in this class of society, who, by their dress and appearance, afford some indication of the opulence to which they have attained.

The Turks spend much of their time at a bazaar, where excellent coffee is prepared and nothing else. No Moorish gentleman enters the house, but sends his slave to procure a cup of the favourite beverage, which he drinks at the door, seated on a marble couch under a green arbour. These benches are furnished with the richest and most beautiful mats and carpets. Here are found, at certain hours of the day, all the principal persons of that class, sitting cross-legged with dishes of coffee in their hands made as strong as the essence itself. On such occasions they are always attended by their black servants, one of whom holds his master's pipe, another his cup, and a third his handkerchief, while he is talking. During conversation the hands must be free, being quite necessary for the purposes of discourse; for the speaker marks with the forefinger of his right hand upon the palm of his left, as accurately as we do with a pen, the different parts of his speech, a comma, a quotation, or a striking passage. This renders their dialogue very singular in the eye of a European, who, being unused to the manner, has great difficulty in following the argument or narrative to which his attention may be invited.

The Arabs in the regency of Tripoli form three classes; the first, those who come from Arabia; the second, the Arabs of Africa; and the third, the wandering Bedouins. The two former are said to be equally warlike, handsome in their persons, generous in their temper, honourable in their dealings, grand and ambitious in all their proceedings when in power, and abstemious in their food. They possess great genius, and enjoy a settled cheerfulness, not in the least bordering on buffoonery. Each of

these tribes is governed by a chief, or sheik, by whose laws all those under him are directed, judged, and punished. Their trade is war; and, as auxiliary troops, they serve with due fidelity the master who pays them best, so long as their contract continues.

The Bedouins are hordes of petty merchants wandering over the country, and trading in what they can carry from place to place. In the spring of the year they advance to Tripoli to occupy the plain, or Pianura, as it is usually called. Here they sow their corn, wait till they can reap it, and then disappear till the following season. They pitch their tents under the walls of the city, but cannot enter it without leave; and for any misdemeanour they may commit their chief is answerable to the pasha. Both the Arabs and Bedouins still retain many customs described in sacred and profane history, and are in almost every thing the same people as we find mentioned in the earliest records.

In some respects, also, these migratory herdsmen bear a certain resemblance to the Scottish Highlanders. The men, for example, wear a thick dark-brown baracan of wool, five or six yards long and about two wide, which serves them as their whole dress by day and their bed by night. They put it on by joining the two upper corners with a wooden or iron bodkin, and these being first placed over the left shoulder, they afterwards fold the rest round their bodies, in a manner somewhat graceful. To those unaccustomed to wear it, the adjustment of its folds is no simple matter; and a stranger is easily discovered by the style of his robe, so different from that recommended by the national usage.

In this particular, the women, as might be expected, are found to excel. Their skin is said to be very dark, almost sable; they have black eyes, amazingly white teeth, and in general regular features. They practise, however, the barbarous custom of scarifying their faces, particularly their chins, rubbing the wound immediately with gunpowder, which leaves ever after a distinct mark in the shape they have previously cut. Many of them prick deeply with a needle the figure they wish to print in the flesh,—a much longer, and of course more painful operation; but the beauty of the ornament they consider a sufficient recompense for the dreadful torment they endure in producing it. They are for the most part tall, thin, and well made; nor do they seem to be of the same opinion as some ladies in Tripoli, who think, if they are not too fat to move without help, they cannot be strictly handsome; and who, to arrive to this, actually force themselves, after a plentiful meal, to eat a small wheaten loaf soaked in water.*

In the mountains which bound the plain to the southward is a very curious village of Arabs. The habitations are at the very summit of the ridge, not to be easily distinguished but by those who inhabit them, as they are all fabricated under ground. A small entry, very narrow and long, is dug slopingly, which leads under the earth to the house, down which the cattle are driven, followed by the family. These people are chiefly banditti; and they are never disturbed or attacked, as the narrow subterraneous passages to their dwellings, where one man may keep a great number at bay, form a sufficient

* Tully's Letters, vol. i. p. 43.

protection to them against the Moors. The length of the entry to these caverns has given rise to a proverbial simile; every story or tale that is long and tiresome, is said to be like the skiffer at Ghariana, which has no ending.*

The Pianura or plain, visited periodically by the Bedouins, presents in the proper season, which coincides with our autumn, an aspect peculiarly pleasant and rich. It is, in short, a little country of corn,—every part of it being sown with Indian wheat and barley. The former grows to a height of five or six feet, and constitutes a convenient shelter from the oppressive heat of the sun to those who delight in a rural walk. But during the greatest part of the year it is a sea of sand, shifting from place to place, with occasionally a slight stratum of mud on it; and the parts which have been cropped look as if they were burnt with fire, owing to the extreme power of the solar rays, which render the stubble perfectly black.

We are told, on the same authority, that the houses of the principal people of Tripoli, unlike those of the Egyptians, which are built high, never exceed one story. You first pass through a sort of hall or lodge, called by the Moors a skiffer, with benches of stone on each side. From this a staircase leads to a grand apartment, termed a gulphor, which possesses a convenience, not allowed in any other room, that, namely, of having windows facing the street. This chamber is held sacred to the master of the mansion. Here he holds his levees, transacts business, and enjoys convivial parties. None, even of his own family, dare enter it without his

* Tully's Letters, vol. i. p. 49.

particular leave; and, though such a restriction may seem arbitrary, yet a Moorish female, in this one instance, may be said to equal her lord in power; as, if he finds a pair of lady's slippers at the door of her apartment, he cannot go in,—he must wait till they are removed. Beyond the hall or lodge is the court-yard, paved in a style of elegance proportioned to the fortune of the owner. Some are done with brown cement, resembling finely-polished stone; others are executed in black or white marble; while those of the poorer class display nothing more expensive than pounded clay. The houses, whether large or small, in town or in country, are built on the same plan. The court is used for receiving female parties, entertained by the principal wife, upon the celebration of a marriage, or any other feast; and also, in cases of death, for the performance of such funeral services as are customary prior to the removal of the body to the grave. On these occasions the pavement is covered with mats or Turkey carpets, and is sheltered from the heat of the weather by an awning extended over the whole yard, for which the Moors sometimes incur great expense. Rich silk cushions are laid round for seats; the walls are hung with tapestry, and the whole is converted into a grand saloon. This court is surrounded with a cloister supported by pillars, over which a gallery is erected of the same dimensions, enclosed with a lattice-work of wood. From the cloister and gallery, doors open into large chambers not communicating with each other, and which receive light only from this yard. The windows have no glass, but are furnished with jalousies of wood curiously cut, admitting only a faint glimmering, and pre-

cluding all intercourse even by looks. The tops of the houses, which are flat, are covered with plaster or cement, and surrounded by a parapet about a foot high, to prevent any thing from immediately falling into the street. Upon these terraces the inmates enjoy the refreshing sea-breeze, so luxurious after a parching day, and are here constantly seen at sunset offering their devotions to Mohammed; for, let a Moor be where he may, when he hears the marabout announce the evening prayer, nothing induces him to pass that moment without prostrating himself to the ground,—a circumstance surprising to Europeans, if they happen to be in company, or even walking through the streets.

In all parts of Barbary a guard of two dragomans are sent by the government to reside at the houses of foreign consuls and ministers, and to accompany the family whenever they walk out. In Algiers the Christians at one time found it necessary to allow these official protectors to dine at their tables; where, of course, they acted as spies on all that passed, and were often the cause of much disturbance. At Tripoli a more liberal system has usually been adopted; and the military attendants, who are, as far as is desirable, under the control of the embassy, may be increased or diminished according to circumstances.

Notwithstanding the despotic nature of the authority with which the pasha is invested, it is not difficult for the meanest subject to approach him, and make his case known. Often when he is on the seat of judgment, the cry of *Shar-alla,*—Justice in the name of God,—is heard resounding through the hall. The oppressed Moor calls out these words

as he approaches, and before he has entered into the presence of his highness; upon which the way is instantly made clear for the suppliant, who enjoys a prescriptive right to detain the great man till his grievances are redressed. Blaquière also remarks that, though the Tripolines are cruel, the administration of justice is equal and lenient. Capital punishments are by no means frequent, and are never, indeed, inflicted except in cases of murder, the breach of the seventh article of the Decalogue, and for crimes against the government. The amazing promptitude, moreover, with which delinquencies of every kind are punished has often excited the admiration of Europeans. An individual is no sooner detected in the violation of a law, than he is seized and brought to the Kaya, who forthwith investigates the alleged charges upon evidence; and, if the case involves no point of peculiar difficulty, the penalty awarded to the offence instantly follows conviction. This officer hears causes a certain number of hours every day. The pasha also, as already mentioned, presides at stated periods, according to the pressure of business; on which occasions every man acts as his own advocate, and in defending himself is allowed to speak with a degree of freedom which would shock the feelings of a European sovereign.*

The bastinado is the punishment usually inflicted for all minor wickednesses; or if imprisonment be added, it seldom exceeds two or three months, so that no man's labour is lost to the community. Thefts are checked in a very exemplary and curious manner; the malefactor's right hand and left foot are taken off and suspended several

* Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 66.

days in a place of public resort. Executions are not allowed to be performed by Mohammedans,—a sufficient number of Jews being always kept in reserve to discharge this public duty.

The religious ceremonies, whether, at births, deaths, or marriages, being the same at this regency as in other Mohammedan states, it is not our intention to enter upon any minute description of them. We should not, however, do justice to the reader did we omit to abridge, from the letters written at the court of Tripoli, an account of a visit paid by an English lady to the family of the pasha in his formidable castle. On approaching this royal residence, you pass the first entrenchments escorted by the hampers, or body-guards; after which you enter the courtyard, usually crowded with soldiers waiting before the skiffer or hall, where the kaya sits as judge. This is the principal officer belonging to his highness, and the deepest in his confidence; without whose consent no subject can obtain an audience in the palace even on the most important business. Beyond this hall is a paved square with a piazza supported by marble pillars, in which is built the messeley, or council-chamber, where the pasha holds his levees on gala-days. It is finished on the outside with Chinese tiles, a number of which form an entire painting; and a flight of variegated marble steps leads up to the door of it. The nubar, or royal band, performs with great ceremony before the door of the messeley every afternoon, when the third marabout announces the prayers of lazzero at four o'clock, and on the whole of Wednesday night, being the eve of the accession to the throne. No one on any account can pass the music while it plays,

and certain officers of state attend during the whole of the performance. Before it begins, the chief, or captain of the chouses, who in this instance must be considered as a herald, goes through the ceremony of proclaiming the pasha afresh. The sounds of the nubar, it is said, are singular to a European ear, being produced by the turbuka, a sort of kettle-drum, the reed, and the timbrel; the first belongs to the Moors, the two latter to the negroes.*

The numerous buildings added to the castle form several streets, at the end of which is the bagnio where the Christian slaves are kept. No gentlemen are permitted to approach nearer the harem, or ladies' apartments, than the place just named; and from hence you are conducted by eunuchs through long vaulted passages, so extremely dark that it is with great difficulty the way can be discerned. On entering the harem a striking gloom prevails. The courtyard is grated over the top with heavy iron-bars, very close together, giving it a melancholy appearance. The galleries round this enclosure, before the chambers, are fortified with lattices cut very small in wood. The pasha's daughters, when married, have separate apartments sacred to themselves: no one can enter them but their husbands and attendants, eunuchs and slaves; and if it is necessary for the ladies to speak in the presence of a third person, even to their father or brother, they must instantly veil themselves. The great number of servants filling up every avenue renders it almost impossible to proceed from one apartment to another. "We found some black slaves recently brought from Fezzan extremely troublesome, from

* Tully's Letters, vol. i., p. 57, &c.

their alarming fears created at the sight of a European's dress and complexion. A miniature on a lady's arm was taken by one of these blacks for a sheitan or evil spirit. Its resemblance, though on a small scale, to the human figure was so strong that, on suddenly perceiving it, she uttered convulsive screams, and it was only after much persuasion that she could be pacified. It is dangerous to come in their way with costly lace or beads; the first, if they are suffered to touch, they quickly pull to pieces; and the latter they instantly bite through in trying if they are genuine pearls.

"On entering the apartment of Lilla Kebbiera, the wife of the pasha, we found her seated with three of her daughters. She is extremely affable, and has the most insinuating manner imaginable. She is not more than forty; but her age is not spoken of, as it is against the Moorish religion to keep registries of births. She is still very handsome, a fair beauty with blue eyes and flaxen hair. On visiting this sovereign, the consuls' wives are permitted to kiss her head; their daughters, or other ladies in their company, her right hand; her left she offers only to the dependents. If any of her blacks, or the domestics of the castle, are near her, they frequently seize the opportunity of kneeling down to kiss the end of her baracan or upper-garment.—The bey, her eldest son, has been married several years, having entered into wedlock at the early age of seven. Indeed, the Moors marry so extremely young that the mother and her firstborn are often seen together as playmates, equally anxious and angry in an infantine game. The women here are frequently grandmothers at twenty-six or

twenty-seven ; and, therefore, it is no wonder that they occasionally live to see the children of many generations.—The apartment she was in was hung with dark-green velvet-tapestry, ornamented with coloured silk damask flowers; and sentences out of the Koran were cut in silk letters and newly sewed on, forming a deep border at the top and bottom: below this, the walls were finished with tiles forming landscapes. The sides of the doorway and the entrance into the room were marble; and, according to the custom of furnishing here, choice china and crystal encircled the room on a moulding near the ceiling. Close beneath these ornaments were placed large looking-glasses with frames of gold and silver; the floor was covered with curious matting and rich carpeting over it: loose mattresses and cushions, placed on the ground, made up in the form of sofas, covered with velvet, and embroidered with gold and silver, served for seats, with Turkey carpets laid before them. The coffee was served in very small cups of China, placed in gold fillagree cups without saucers, on a solid gold salver of an uncommon size, richly embossed. This massive waiter was brought in by two slaves, who bore it between them round to each of the company; and these two eunuchs were the most richly-habited slaves we had yet seen in the castle; they were entirely covered with gold and silver. Refreshments were afterwards served up on low and beautifully-inlaid tables, not higher than a foot from the ground; and amongst the sherbets was fresh pomegranate-juice passed through the rind of the fruit, which gave it an excellent flavour. After the repast, slaves attended with silver filigree censers,

offering at the same time towels with gold ends wove in them nearly half a yard deep.—We were conducted over the harem, and though it was daylight, we were obliged to have torches on account of some long dark passages we had to go through. Could the subterranean ways and hidden corners of this castle tell the secret plots and strange events that happen daily within its walls, they would be most extraordinary to hear. When we came near the bagnio of the Christian slaves our guide from the harem quitted us, and the guards, with the gentlemen who had waited for our return, conducted us through the outer fortifications."*

The history of Tripoli is so closely connected with the annals of the Barbary States at large, that it would prove inconvenient to enter minutely into its details. Partaking of the ignorance which followed the conquest of the Saracens and the ascendency of the Turks, it ceased to engage the attention of Europe till the ravages committed by the Corsairs in the beginning of the sixteenth century excited the resentment of Charles V., the German emperor. Having subdued the Tripolines, he put their city under the government of the Knights of Malta, who kept possession of it till the year 1551, when they were expelled by Sinan Pasha and the celebrated Dragoot Rais. Returning to their wonted habits of piracy, the Moors in 1655 provoked the resentment of Cromwell, who sent Admiral Blake with a fleet to chastise the Tunisians, and compel the other states to submit to terms. Twenty years, however, had scarcely elapsed, when it became necessary for the English to interpose again, as well for the safety of their

* Tully's Letters, vol. i. p. 67.

trade as for the honour of the Christian name. Sir John Narborough, in 1675, with a squadron of ships, appeared before their port, to punish them for their frequent breach of treaty. The gallant manner in which the boats under the direction of Lieutenant Shovel, afterwards the renowned Sir Cloudesly, made an attack on their men-of-war lying in the harbour, struck them at once with amazement and terror. Seeing four of their largest vessels destroyed under their batteries, they relinquished all hope of a successful resistance, and readily acceded to the conditions which the British admiral was authorized to propose. From that period negotiation alone has sufficed to secure for our countrymen the protection due to a triumphant flag, and without any actual appeal to force.*

Down to the year 1714, the Turks exercised the government at Tripoli,—a pasha as well as a regular army being from time to time appointed by the Porte, for the maintenance of authority and the collection of tribute. But, at the epoch now mentioned, a revolution took place, the consequences of which have been perpetuated to the present day. Hamet, usually called the Great, was at that time bey, who, upon a temporary removal of his superior, applied to the sultan for the appointment, and obtained it. He had resolved upon a change in the administration of affairs, and the mode by which he accomplished his object was truly characteristic of the people to whom he owed his lineage. In the course of twenty-four hours he contrived to send away from the city all the Turkish soldiers; and at his palace, not far distant, he announced a superb

* Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 82.

entertainment, to which he invited all the principal officers, civil and military, who held their commissions from Constantinople. Three hundred of these unfortunate victims were strangled, one by one, as they entered the skiffer or hall,—a long passage with small dark rooms or deep recesses on each side, in which a hidden guard was placed. The soldiers assassinated the Turks one by one as they arrived, and, dragging the bodies out of sight, removed all ground of suspicion until the whole had fallen under their hands. Those, too, who remained in the city were next day found murdered, no doubt by order of the new pasha; but no inquiry was any where made, with the view of discovering those who had perpetrated such horrid deeds. Only a few of the proscribed class survived to tell the dreadful tale. Large presents, it is said, were immediately sent to Constantinople to appease the grand seignior; and in a day or two no one dared to speak of the Turkish garrison which had been butchered with so much cruelty and premeditation. From that period the direct influence of the Porte was greatly lessened, the government being seized by the Moors, who have ever since retained the principal authority, though they continue to acknowledge the Ottoman emperor as their sovereign paramount.*

The reign of Hamet was distinguished for great talent and activity. He carried his arms into the interior, reduced Fezzan to his obedience, and the still more savage districts of Ghariana and Messulata. He had moreover the merit of encouraging ingenious foreigners to settle in his dominions, and thereby improved many sources of national wealth, particu-

* Tully's Letters, vol. i. p. 70.

larly the manufacture of woollens and the preparation of the finer kinds of leather. He lived till the year 1745; and upon his demise the supreme power was intrusted to his second son, by whom it has been transmitted, though not in a direct line, as the hereditary right of the family who now occupy the throne.*

Fezzan, which still continues tributary to the descendants of Hamet the Great, is bounded by Tripoli on the north, by the Desert of Barca on the east, and by the Sahara on the west and south. The greatest length of the cultivated country, from north to south, is about 255 miles, and its breadth 200 miles, from east to west. According to Hornemann, this small state contains 100 towns and villages, of which Moorzuk is the capital. There is also Zuila, which, as narrated by old travellers, possessed magnificent ruins, though none of these wonders have been seen by the moderns. During the south wind, the heat is scarcely supportable even to the inhabitants, who

* Blaquière, vol. ii. p. 86. The following are the principal officers of state at Tripoli:—

The Pasha's eldest son has the title of Bey, and usually acts as commander-in-chief.

The Aga commands all the Turkish soldiers in the Pasha's pay, now not exceeding 100.

The Kaya or Chiah is Grand Judge; presiding all day, except from twelve till three, at the castle-gate.

The Hasnadar Grande is the chief officer of the treasury.

The Hasnadar Piccolo is Treasurer of the Household.

The Sheik el Bled administers the laws of the city as head magistrate.

The Mufti is the head of the priesthood.

The Kadi is judge in matters respecting the Mohammedan faith.

The Mufti and Kadi assist the Pasha in the administration of justice when in full divan.

The Kaids are the governors of districts, and have power to raise taxes and enforce the laws.

The Hajjis are private secretaries to his highness, of whom he has generally two or three.

on such occasions find it necessary to sprinkle their rooms with water, in order that they may be able to breathe. The winter, however, is not so mild as might be expected, owing to a cold piercing north wind, which completely chilled the natives when Hornemann was among them, and obliged this enterprising discoverer himself, inured as he was to the more frigid climate of Europe, to have recourse to a fire. Rain, which seldom falls here, is enjoyed only to a very limited extent; though the atmosphere is frequently disturbed by hurricanes, and darkened with clouds of dust and sand from the contiguous waste. In no part of the country is there any river or stream worthy of the slightest notice; but there are numerous springs which supply sufficient water for the purposes of irrigation. The whole of Fezzan, indeed, abounds in that element at a moderate depth under ground, derived, no doubt, from the rains which moisten the hills on the confines of the Desert, and spread over the plain among the loose strata near its surface.

The population has been estimated by recent travellers at 60,000 or 70,000, obviously composed of a mixed people, as is made manifest by the variety of their complexions. The indigenous race is of middling stature, of little vigour, of a brown colour, black short hair, a regular countenance, and a nose less flattened than that of the negro. As to religion, the majority are Mohammedans, though it is remarked that they live on good terms with such as still adhere to the rites of paganism. Their houses, we are told, are built of sun-dried bricks, made of calcareous and argillaceous earth; they are extremely low, and receive light only by the door. Dates

are the natural produce and staple commodity of this country; figs, pomegranates, and lemons, also come to perfection. A great quantity of maize and barley is cultivated; but as the inhabitants do not raise wheat sufficient for their own consumption, they receive a great part of what they use from the Arabs, who, in some respects, are much better husbandmen. We have already mentioned, that caravans are sent hence to Tripoli, Timbuctoo, and Bornou, who trade chiefly in gold-dust and black slaves; in pursuit of which objects, they proceed, it is probable, as far as the coast of Guinea.

The oasis of Augila, as well perhaps as that of Siwah, likewise belongs to the Tripoline sovereignty. The town, which is the residence of a bey, is described as small and mean, having no public buildings but such as are of a very wretched aspect. All the interest attached to the latter state, indeed, arises from its being the site of the celebrated temple of Ammon, the access to which, in ancient times, was considered as almost entirely impracticable. It afforded a convenient station for the trade which the Cyrenians carried on with the central parts of Africa, whence they are supposed to have drawn the gold, silver, and precious stones, of which they formed the jewellery and those other works of taste and elegance wherein they excelled. The votive columns, ornamented with dolphins, which are found on the route leading from Cyrene to Ammon; the similarity in the architecture of both countries; and the journey of the Cyrenians, who acted as guides to Alexander in his visit to the temple of the Libyan deity, prove that in fact the relations between them were established long before the reign of the Macedonian hero, since at that pe-

riod they appear to have been masters of the oasis. The extent of this singular territory in the midst of an appalling wilderness, the excellence of its thermal waters, the fertility of its soil, and its advantageous position for commerce, explain the interest which it constantly excited in the civilized nations who occupied the coast. It will, as M. Pacho remarks, be the same again, should civilisation ever revisit the regions which it has so long abandoned.

There is a set of men at Tripoli whom Mr Blaquière considers as the descendants of the ancient Psylli or Serpent-eaters, who, assuming a sacred character, are regarded at times with a species of veneration. Of this extravagant class of religionists we have a very good account in the pages of Captain Lyon, who witnessed one of their periodical exhibitions when on his journey in Northern Africa. The marabouts, he tells us, are of two denominations; idiots, who are allowed to say and do whatever they please; and men possessed of all their senses, who, by juggling and performing many bold and disgusting tricks, establish to themselves the exclusive right of being great rogues and nuisances. There are mosques in which these people assemble every Friday afternoon, where they eat snakes and scorpions, affect to be inspired, and commit the most revolting extravagances.

In the month of January their annual festival begins, and continues three days with all its barbarous ceremonies. Before the day on which it commences, the great marabout is supposed to inspire such as are to appear in the processions, and who, according to their abilities, are more or less mad and furious. The natural fools are always ready for the

exhibition; and it is amusing to observe their looks of astonishment at being on this occasion more than any other brought into public notice. During the time they parade the streets, no Christian or Jew can with any safety make his appearance, as he would, if once in the power of these wretches, be instantly torn in pieces. Indeed, if any person professing either of the hated religions shows himself on a terrace or at a window, he is sure to be saluted by a plentiful shower of stones from the boys who follow the progress of the infuriated saints.

The captain, who was in the dress of the country, ventured to go in the company of his dragoman to the mosque from which the procession was to set out. He felt that his situation was a dangerous one; but, being resolved on the attempt, he dashed into the crowd, and succeeded in getting near the performers, who, with dishevelled hair, were rapidly turning round, and working themselves up into a most alarming state of phrensy. A band of barbarous music was playing to them, while several men were constantly employed in sprinkling them with rose-water. When they were sufficiently excited, they sallied out into the streets. One had a large nail run through his face from one cheek to the other; and all of them had bitten their tongues in so violent a manner as to cause blood and saliva to flow copiously. They were half naked, uttering, at short intervals, groans and howls; and as they proceeded,—sometimes three or four abreast, leaning on each other,—they threw their heads backwards and forwards with a quick motion, which caused the blood to rise in their faces, and their eyes to project from their sockets in a frightful manner.

Their long black hair, which grew from the crown of the head,—the other parts being closely shaven,—was continually waving to and fro, owing to the violent agitation in which they indulged. One or two, who were the most furious, and who continually attempted to run at the crowd, were held by a man on each side with a rope, or by means of a handkerchief tied round the middle. Captain Lyon observed, that whenever the marabouts passed the house of a Christian, they affected to be ungovernable, and endeavoured to get near it, pretending they had made the discovery by smelling out unbelievers.

Two parties were, at the same moment, traversing the town; but being of opposite sects, and at war with each other, it was so arranged, that they should take different routes. That which our countryman did not see was the principal one, and took its departure from under the walls of the castle. It was headed by a man named Mohammed, who had been much at the house of the captain, going errands, and attending his horses; and who, before the time of the procession, had been confined in a dungeon, in consequence of his becoming furious. When all was in readiness for the ceremony, the pasha took his station at the balcony overlooking the arsenal; and this man was no sooner set at liberty, than he rushed on an ass, and with one thrust pushed his hand into the animal's side, from which he tore its bowels, and began to devour them. Many ate dogs and other living creatures; and on that day, a little Jew boy was killed in the street, either by the marabouts or their followers.*

* Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa, p. 9.

Captain Lyon adds, that, notwithstanding the prohibition of the prophet, drunkenness is more common in Tripoli than even in most towns of England. There are public wine-houses, at the doors of which the Moors sit and drink without any scruple; and the saldanah, or place of the guard, has usually a few drunkards to disgrace its discipline. Among the better sort of people, too, there are a great many who drink hard; but their favourite beverage is an Italian cordial, called rosolia, and not unfrequently a little rum.

The intercourse with Europeans is commonly carried on in a corrupt dialect, composed of most of the tongues spoken along the northern shores of the Mediterranean. It may even have been observed, that the language of Tripoli, as used by the natives, has admitted a great number of terms from the banks of the Tiber; and that all such ideas as are foreign to the habits of an Arab, or a corsair, are expressed in the idiom of the modern Romans.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Tunis and its Dependencies.*

Lands included in the Pashalic of Tunis—History resumed—Abou Ferez—His Court, Bodyguard, and Council—Invasion of Tunis by Louis IX.—Carthage reduced—Sufferings of the French—Death of the King—Arrival of the Sicilian Crusaders—Failure of the Expedition—Rise of the two Barbarossas, Horuc and Hayradin—The former invited to assist the King of Algiers—He murders him and seizes the Government—The Usurper defeated and slain—Algiers occupied by Hayradin, who courts the Protection of the Grand Seignior—Plans an Attack on Tunis—Succeeds in his Attempt—Excites the Resentment of the Emperor Charles V.—The vast Preparations in Italy and Spain—Barbarossa prepares for Defence—The Goletta is taken—A general Engagement ensues—The Moors are defeated and Tunis falls—The Town is sacked and plundered—Muley Hassan restored—Conditions—Exploits of Barbarossa—Spaniards expelled by Selim II.—Tunisians elect a Dey—Government settled in a Bey—Rise of Hassan Ben Ali—Power absolute—Administration of Justice—Description of Tunis—Soil and Climate—Army—Superstitions—Manners and Customs—Character of the Moors—Avarice of the late Bey—Population of the Regency—Revenue—Intemperance—Anecdote of Hamooda—Description of Carthage—Cisterns and Aqueduct—Remains of a Temple—Appearance during the Fourth and Fifth Centuries—Details by Edrisi—Remark by Chateaubriand—Bizerta—Utica—Hammam Leif—Sidi Doud—Kalibia—Ghurba—Nabal—Keff—Tubersoke—Herkla—Sahaleel—Monasteer—Lempta—Agar—Demass—Sallecto—Woodlif—Gabes—Jemme—Sfaitla—Gilma—Casarcene—Feriana.

Tunis, though the smallest of the Barbary States, is by no means the least important. Comprehending the territory which once belonged to Carthage, it affords to the reader many interesting recollec-

tions, and still presents the memorials of some of the most striking events that mark the history of those great nations which contended for universal empire on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The lands included in this pashalic consist chiefly of a peninsular projection on the African coast, stretching into the sea in a north-easterly direction so as to approach within less than 100 miles of the island of Sicily. The river Zaine, or Tusca, forms the western boundary, separating it from the dominion of Algiers. From Cape Roux, in longitude 9° 30′ E., and latitude 37° N., the coast extends eastward to Cape Bon, with a slight inclination to the north. After turning that point, it takes a south-eastern direction, terminating at the populous island of Jerba, where it touches the border of Tripoli,—the whole forming an irregular line nearly 500 miles in length. The breadth, reckoning from north to south, varies from 100 to 200 miles, according as the Atlas range, which divides it from the Blaid al Jerid, approaches or retires from the sea. The only rivers of importance are the Mejerdah,—the Bagrada of Roman authors,—which, after winding through a picturesque and fertile country, falls into the Mediterranean between Cape Carthage and Porto Farina; and the Wad el Kebir,—the ancient Ampsaga,—which finds its outlet into the same great basin thirty miles east of Jigel. The Gulf of Tunis, one of the safest in this part of the world, runs up between Cape Bon and Cape Farina; and, including the bay, its compass is about 120 miles, in every section of which there is excellent anchorage not far from the land.*

* Blaquière, vol. ii. p. 135. Conder's Dictionary of Geography, p. 673. Balbi, Abrégé de Géographie, p. 879.

In our general history of the Northern Shores of Africa, we brought down the annals of this petty monarchy until it was subdued by the Saracens. It was mentioned that the victorious Arabs placed the seat of their government at Kairwan, where a viceroy, with the title of Emir, or Prince of the Believers, was invested with supreme power. This species of delegated authority, amidst various wars and partial revolutions, continued till the year 1206, when a combination of events elevated the Almahades, a new dynasty, to the throne of Morocco, with a jurisdiction which extended over all the provinces of Barbary. The governor, whom this family nominated to Tunis, soon aspired to independence, and left his son, Abou Ferez, in the possession of so much influence as enabled him to contend with his sovereign for the command of the whole country, and, finally, to acquire the local honours of sultan. His court is said to have been regulated in the most splendid manner, and his system of administering public affairs is extolled as at once moderate and successful. His bodyguard consisted of 1500 Christians, besides which he had always on foot an immense army to repel invasion. There was also a national council, composed of 300 persons, distinguished for their probity and experience, without whose advice he undertook not any thing of importance. This comparatively happy condition was a long time enjoyed by the Tunisians, though they suffered an occasional annoyance from the kings of Fezzan, who had assumed a warlike attitude, and even advanced at the head of their tumultuary followers to the margin of the great sea. It may therefore be asserted, that the government of Tunis was

not exposed to any serious interruption till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Muley Hassan was deposed by Hayradin Barbarossa,—an occurrence which we shall immediately explain with some degree of minuteness.*

In the year 1270, when this regency was under the dominion of a prince whom the French historians call Omar El Muley Moztanca, Louis IX. was induced to invade its shores. To religious motives, which at that time were professed by all the sovereigns of Europe, there was added in this case a strong political consideration. The pirates of Tunis infested the Mediterranean; they intercepted the succours sent to the Christian armies in Palestine; and they furnished the sultan of Egypt with horses, arms, and troops. The destruction of this haunt of banditti was therefore a point of some consequence, as it would facilitate future expeditions to the Holy Land. The crusaders accordingly entered the bay in the month of July, and took possession of the native land of Hannibal in these words,—"We put you to the ban of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of Louis, king of France, his lieutenant."

This monarch resolved to reduce Carthage, on the ruins of which several new edifices had been recently built, before he laid siege to Tunis, then an opulent, commercial, and fortified city. He dislodged the Saracens from the tower which defended the cisterns; the castle was carried by assault, and the new city followed the fate of the fortress; but, says Chateaubriand, no sooner had Louis crossed the seas than prosperity seemed to forsake him; as if he had been always destined to exhibit to the in-

* Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 229.

fidels a pattern of heroism in adversity. He could not attack Tunis till he had received the reinforcements with which his brother, the King of Sicily, had promised to join him. Being obliged to entrench himself on the isthmus, the army was attacked by a contagious disease, which in a few days swept away half of his troops. The African sun consumed men accustomed to live beneath a milder sky. To increase the sufferings of the French, the Moors raised the burning sands by means of machines, and, scattering it before the southern breeze, exposed the Christians, by this fiery shower, to the effects of the *kamsin*, or terrible wind of the desert. Incessant engagements exhausted the remains of their strength: the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, whose bodies were thrown into the ditches of the camp, which were soon completely filled with them.

The principal nobility and the king's favourite son, the Count of Nevers, had already expired, when Louis found himself attacked by the disease. He was sensible from the first moment that it would terminate fatally, and that this shock could not fail to overpower a body worn out with the fatigues of war, the cares of a throne, and those painful vigils which he devoted to religion and to his people. Feeling his end approaching, he desired to be placed upon a bed of ashes, where he lay with his hands folded upon his bosom, and his eyes raised towards heaven. Meantime the fleet of the Sicilian monarch appeared on the horizon, while the plain and hills were covered with the army of the Moors. Amid the wrecks of Carthage, the Christian army presented an image of the profoundest grief; a deathlike

silence pervaded it, and the expiring soldiers, leaving the hospitals, crawled over the ruins to approach their dying monarch.

At this crisis the trumpets of the Sicilian crusaders sounded, and their ships touched the shore, bringing succours which were no longer available. This signal not being answered, their royal commander was astonished, and began to apprehend some disaster. He landed; he beheld the sentinels with their pikes reversed, while the dejection visible in their faces expressed their grief much more strongly than this mark of military mourning. He flew to the tent of his brother, and found him extended lifeless on the humble bed which he had chosen. The expedition which had been the fruit of so much care, and was attended with such intense suffering, now proved to have been undertaken in vain.*

More than 100 years elapsed before the affairs of Tunis again attracted the notice of Christian states. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, a sudden revolution happened, which, by rendering the seaports of Barbary formidable to Europeans, has made their history more worthy of attention. This event was brought to pass by two individuals born in a low rank of life,—Horuc and Hayradin,—sons of a potter in the isle of Lesbos. These youths, prompted by a restless spirit, forsook their father's trade, ran to sea, and joined a crew of pirates, among whom they soon distinguished themselves by their valour and activity. Having collected several ships, the elder brother, who, from the red colour of his beard, obtained the name of Barbarossa, was appointed admiral, while Hayradin was nominated second in

* Travels in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Barbary, vol. ii. p. 298.

command. They called themselves the friends of the sea, and the enemies of all who sailed upon it; and their characters soon became terrible, from the walls of Constantinople to the Straits of Gibraltar.

A. D. 1516. As their fame and power extended, so did their ambitious views; and while acting as corsairs, they gradually adopted the ideas and acquired the talents of conquerors. Their attention was naturally drawn to the coast of Barbary, as a convenient situation for an establishment, whence they might send forth their cruisers against the commercial states of Christendom. An opportunity soon occurred for accomplishing their object. The King of Algiers, having tried several times, without success, to take a fort which the Spanish governor of Oran had built in the vicinity of his capital, was induced to apply for aid to Barbarossa, whose valour and skill were highly prized. The wily pirate gladly accepted the invitation; and leaving his brother Hayradin with the fleet, he marched at the head of 5000 men to Algiers, as the ally of Eutami, the short-sighted monarch. Such a force gave him the command of the town; and seeing no reason to apprehend a serious opposition on the part of the native troops, he forthwith murdered their sovereign and proclaimed himself king in his stead. His liberality to the several chiefs procured their acquiescence in this violent change; upon which he attacked the neighbouring ruler of Tremezen, whom he vanquished in battle and deprived of his lands. At the same time he continued to infest the coasts of Spain and Italy with fleets, which resembled the armaments of a great nation rather than the light squadrons of a piratical commander.

A. D. 1518. Their frequent and cruel devastations obliged the Emperor Charles V. to furnish the Marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, with troops sufficient to attack him. This officer, assisted by the dethroned king of Tremezen, executed the commission with such spirit, that Barbarossa, being beaten in several encounters, shut himself up in the capital of the prince just named. After defending it to the last extremity, he was overtaken in attempting to make his escape, and slain, while he fought with an obstinate courage not unworthy of his former exploits.

The sceptre of Algiers now fell to Hayradin, who is likewise known to history by the epithet of Redbeard. His ambition and abilities, which were not inferior to those of his brother, were seconded by a more propitious fortune. Dreading the vengeance of the Europeans, and the treachery of his own subjects, he put his dominions under the protection of the grand seignior, and received from him in return a body of Turkish troops sufficient for his security against domestic, as well as foreign enemies. As the fame of his achievements daily increased, Solyman offered him the command of his fleet, as the only person whose skill and resolution entitled him to take the sea against Andrew Doria, the greatest admiral of that age. Proud of this distinction, he repaired to Constantinople, where he gained the entire confidence of the sultan and his vizier. To them he communicated a scheme which he had formed for making himself master of Tunis, the most flourishing kingdom at that time on the coast of Africa; and this being approved by them, he obtained whatever force or other means he demanded for carrying it into execution.

His principal hopes in this expedition were founded on the intestine divisions which then prevailed in the kingdom of Tunis. Muley Hassan, the youngest son of Mohammed, the late ruler of that country, had, through the influence of his mother, been raised to the government, and signalized the beginning of his reign by putting to death all the members of his family whom he could get into his power. Alraschid, one of the eldest of his brothers, finding a retreat among the Arabs, made several attempts to recover his throne; but failing of success, and being apprehensive that his faithless allies would deliver him up into the hands of the tyrant, he implored the protection of Barbarossa, who received him with every mark of friendship and respect. Being about to sail for Constantinople, he easily prevailed upon the unfortunate prince to accompany him thither; assuring him that the head of the empire would make haste to redress his wrongs, and lend to his cause the most effectual aid, in men as well as in the munitions of war. It was then that the treacherous pirate opened to the sultan his plan for reducing Tunis to the obedience of the Turks; making use of Alraschid's name, and co-operating with the party who longed for his restoration.

A powerful fleet and numerous army were soon assembled; but the unhappy son of Mohammed was not permitted to accompany them, being, at the very moment the expedition was about to sail, arrested by the order of his imperial highness, and thrown into confinement. Barbarossa in due time appeared before Tunis, announcing to the inhabitants that he had come to assert the rights of their legitimate sovereign. Muley Hassan, whose severe

rule had alienated the affections of his subjects, soon found himself compelled to fly; the people took arms in behalf of their exiled prince; and the gates were opened to the valiant hero who had with so much apparent generosity espoused his interests. But when Alraschid himself did not appear, and when, instead of his name, that of Solyman alone was heard among the acclamations of the foreign soldiers, the citizens began to suspect the duplicity of which they had been made the victims. It was in vain for the conqueror to repeat his asseverations, that their king had been left sick on board the admiral's galley; their apprehensions and resentment could not be calmed; they accordingly resumed their weapons with the utmost fury, surrounding the castle into which he had led his troops. But he, having foreseen such a result, was not unprepared for it; he immediately turned against them the artillery on the ramparts; and soon forced them to acknowledge the grand seignior as their lord paramount, and to submit to himself as his lieutenant.

The fortunate corsair lost no time in preparing for whatever attack might be made upon him from within or from without. He strengthened the citadel which commands the town, and fortified the Goletta in a regular manner, making it the principal station for his fleet, and the great arsenal for naval as well as military stores. He now resumed his depredations on the Christian states with more destructive violence than ever; spreading his cruisers over the whole of the Mediterranean. The eyes of all the maritime powers were directed to the emperor, whose territories in Italy and Spain were exposed in a particular manner to the ravages of the

Tunisian plunderers. At the same time, Muley Hassan, who in his turn had become a suppliant, applied to Charles as the only person who could effectually assert his rights in opposition to so formidable a usurper.

A. D. 1535. Having made due preparations for war upon the barbarian chief, the emperor set sail on the 16th July from Cagliari, in Sardinia, his fleet consisting of nearly five hundred vessels, and having on board some of the best-disciplined troops in Europe. The united strength of his dominions, indeed, had been called out to take part in an enterprise in which he was about to hazard his glory. A Flemish squadron had conveyed from the harbours of the Low Country a body of German foot; the galleys of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards who had distinguished themselves by so many victories over the French; he himself embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spanish nobility, and was joined by a considerable flotilla from Portugal, commanded by Don Louis, brother to the empress. Andrew Doria conducted his own ships, the best appointed at that time in Europe, and directed by the most skilful officers. The Pope furnished all the assistance in his power towards so pious an undertaking; and the knights of Malta, the avowed enemies of the infidels, equipped some light-sailing vessels, which, though small, were rendered formidable by the valour of their crews and commanders. Doria discharged the office of high-admiral; while the Marquis de Guasta acted under his master as lieutenant-general of the army.

Barbarossa, who, in the mean time, remained not

ignorant of these immense preparations, had recourse to the most vigorous and prudent means for the defence of his new conquest. He summoned his cruisers from their different stations; drew from Algiers his whole disposable force; and despatched messengers to all the African princes, whom he contrived to alarm by the intelligence that the Christian powers had combined to extirpate the Mohammedan faith on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. This appeal to their bigotry and national pride was answered by the appearance of 20,000 horsemen, with a large body of foot, under the walls of Tunis. But his trust was chiefly reposed in the Turkish soldiers, most of whom were armed and disciplined after the European fashion, and in the strength of the Goletta, which had been carefully supplied with all things necessary to withstand a protracted siege. The command of the garrison was confided to Sinan, who, though a Jew by birth, had professed his belief in the Prophet, and was esteemed the boldest and most experienced of all the piratical leaders. His courage and talents, however, were found unavailing against the batteries which played upon the fort, from the sea as well as the land. The place was taken by storm on the 25th July, when the Tunisian fleet, amounting to nearly ninety sail, the arsenal, and about three hundred pieces of brass cannon, fell into the hands of the assailants.

The son of the Lesbian potter, though he felt the full weight of the blow which he had received, did not sink under it. Despairing, however, of defending the walls of the city against a force so well acquainted with all the arts of attack, he resolved to

advance at the head of the army, whose numbers were not under 50,000, and to provoke the invaders to an engagement. He proposed, at the same time, to his principal officers, that, as there were 10,000 Christians confined in the citadel, a general massacre should be ordered before they marched, as it would prove extremely hazardous, should the Moslem be worsted in the field, to have so large a body of men menacing their rear. They all warmly approved of the intention to fight; but, inured as they were to scenes of bloodshed, the suggestion as to the Nazarene slaves filled them with horror. It was, therefore, resolved to spare their lives; though the issue proved that the humanity of Barbarossa was more at fault than his foresight or policy.

The Europeans, who, encamped amid the sand, would soon have suffered from the intemperance of the climate, were not less desirous than their opponents to terminate their labours by a battle. Each, accordingly, advanced to meet the other. The Moors and Arabs rushed on to the attack with loud shouts; but their undisciplined courage could not long withstand the shock of regular battalions; and though Barbarossa, with great presence of mind, endeavoured to rally them, the rout soon became so general, that he himself was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. There he found every thing in the utmost confusion; some of the inhabitants preparing for flight; others ready to throw open the gates to the conquerors; the Turkish soldiers on the point of retreating; and the citadel, which, in different circumstances, might have afforded him some refuge, already in the possession of the Christian captives. These unhappy men, ren-

dered desperate by their situation, had laid hold on the opportunity which Redbeard dreaded. As soon as the army was at some distance from the town, they prevailed upon the keepers to knock off their fetters; and bursting open the prisons, they overpowered the Turkish garrison, and turned the artillery of the fort against their savage masters. Filled with rage and disappointment, the Viceroy of Tunis left the scene of his former triumph, and fled with precipitation to Bona.

Charles proceeded slowly towards the city, not knowing that it was already secured for him by the insurrection of the Christian prisoners, and that all regular opposition had ceased. It is probable that he would have treated with lenity a people who had been ensnared into rebellion, and compelled to acknowledge a foreign crown, while they imagined that they were fighting for their lawful sovereign. But the impatience of his victorious troops prevented all deliberation; for, fearing lest they should be deprived of booty, they rushed suddenly and without orders into the town, and began to kill and plunder without distinction. Above thirty thousand of the innocent inhabitants perished on that unhappy day, and ten thousand were carried away as slaves. Muley Hassan took possession of a throne surrounded with carnage, abhorred by his subjects, on whom he had brought such calamities, and pitied even by those whose rashness had been the occasion of them. The emperor lamented the fatal accident which had stained the lustre of his victory; and amid such a scene of horror there was but one spectacle that afforded him any satisfaction. Ten thousand Christian slaves, among whom were several persons of

distinction, met him as he entered the town; and, falling on their knees, thanked and blessed him as their deliverer.

At the same time that Charles made good his promise to the Moorish king, of re-establishing him in his dominions, he did not neglect what was necessary for bridling the power of the African corsairs, for the security of his own subjects and the interests of his dominions. In order to gain these ends, he concluded a treaty with Muley Hassan on the following conditions:—"That he should hold the kingdom of Tunis in fee of the Spanish crown, and do homage to the emperor as his liege-lord; that all the Christian slaves now within his territory, of whatever nation, should be set at liberty without ransom; that no subject of the emperor should for the future be detained in servitude; that no Turkish corsair should be admitted into any of his ports; that free trade, together with the unrestrained exercise of their religion, should be allowed to all the emperor's subjects; that Charles should not only retain the Goletta, but that all the other seaports in the kingdom which were fortified should be put into his hands; that Muley Hassan should pay annually 12,000 crowns for the subsistence of the Spanish garrison in the Goletta; that he should enter into no alliance with any of the emperor's enemies, and should present to him every year, as an acknowledgment of his vassalage, six Moorish horses, and as many hawks." Having thus settled the affairs of Tunis, the victorious monarch returned home; being prevented by tempestuous weather, and the appearance of sickness among his troops, from pursuing Barbarossa, who could not

be expected to resign power without a farther struggle.*

The subsequent portion of this adventurer's career may be partly traced in the maritime war which succeeded the alliance formed between the Grand Turk and Francis the First. In the year 1543, he sailed with a fleet of a hundred and ten galleys, and, coasting along the shore of Calabria, made a descent at Reggio, which he plundered and burnt; and, advancing from thence to the mouth of the Tiber, he stopped there to water. The citizens of Rome, ignorant of his intentions, and filled with terror, began to fly with such general precipitation, that the city would have been totally deserted had not an assurance been given by the French envoy that no violence would be offered to any state on friendly terms with the king his master. From Ostia, the pirate-chief directed his course to Marseilles, where he was joined by the Count D'Enghien, at the head of a powerful armament; whence, after a short delay, the combined squadrons proceeded towards Nice. There, to the astonishment and scandal of all Christendom, the lilies of France and the crescent of Mohammed appeared in conjunction against a fortress on which the cross of Savoy was displayed. In short, the assistance received from Solyman was attended with so much odium, that the Gallic monarch dismissed Barbarossa, who, after ravaging at pleasure the coast of Naples and Tuscany, returned with his ships to Constantinople.

The successors of Muley Hassan held Tunis till 1574, when the Spaniards, who protected them, were

* See History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V., vol. iii. p. 90; and Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique, tome iii. p. 55-73.

expelled by Sultan Selim II. who wrested the Goletta from Philip, and put an end to the Moorish dynasty. The Turks assumed the government, which was administered by the aid of a large body of janizaries, and a divan chiefly composed of military men. At length the people, who complained loudly of the tyranny exercised upon them by their new rulers, were permitted, after the manner of the Algerines, to elect their own dey,—an officer whose functions approached nearer to royalty than those formerly discharged by the pasha. The first of these did not long enjoy his dignity, being assassinated soon after his elevation. He was succeeded by Ibrahim, who, perceiving the danger with which he was surrounded, relinquished his authority and retired to Mecca; assuming for this purpose the pretext of devotion, though obviously influenced by the fear of encountering a fate similar to that which had carried off his predecessor. In fact, of twenty-three who were raised to this perilous distinction, only five escaped murder or expulsion.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the beys of Tunis became possessed of the chief authority. A regular monarchy was then established; and Mohammed Bey, the author of the revolution, was made the first sovereign. But this new order of things was no sooner established than deranged; for the Dey of Algiers, taking offence at the Tunisians, laid siege to their city, drove their monarch from his throne, and substituted in his place Ahmed Ben Chouques. The fugitive prince, however, who soon collected a band of followers among the Arabs, recovered his right by force of arms, and at length bequeathed the supreme power to his brother, whose

name was Ramadan. The mild character of this last promised his subjects a tranquil reign; but their hopes were disappointed by the guilty ambition of his nephew Morat, who rebelled against him, and took away his life. Of this usurper the government was cut short by Ibrahim Cherif, a Turk, who put a period to it by assassinating him in the month of June 1702. The author of such a benefit was by the people judged worthy of the succession; but as the fortune of war was unpropitious to him, he fell into the hands of the Algerines, and afterwards obtained his liberty only to lose his head. The army elected Hassan Ben Ali, the grandson of a Greek renegado, to be his substitute; and with this obscure personage originated the family which has held the sceptre of Tunis without interruption until the present day.

Ambition and treason have no doubt repeatedly disturbed the succession among brothers and cousins, who, in order to possess even a precarious authority, hesitated not to imbrue their hands in one another's blood. But since 1782, peace and security have generally prevailed. The remembrance of past calamities, and the example of Algiers, have taught the Tunisians to guard against the restless disposition of the Turks, and to exclude them carefully from any share in the government. The beys have therefore endeavoured to abolish, by degrees, the power which they had usurped; they have made a point of keeping them out of all the important places of administration; and suffered them to fill such only as have but a mere shadow of influence attached to them. Thus, though the reigning family may be looked upon as Turkish, since Hassan Ben Ali,

their founder, was descended from a Greek, the actual government is nevertheless decidedly Moorish.*

It is mentioned by a late traveller, that the authority of the bey, which was originally in some degree limited, is now become practically absolute, so that the members of the divan have little weight on his decisions. When, therefore, they are called together, it is merely to give a colour to his proceedings; and though by the letter of the constitution they are invested with the privilege of electing their ruler, whose office is not strictly hereditary, the decision in this important matter is usually pronounced by the relatives of the deceased monarch, who are supposed to be best acquainted with the talents of the royal progeny.†

The bey is supreme magistrate and judge in his own dominions. He passes a considerable part of each day in the hall of justice, and constant habits of observation have made him such a physiognomist that, where self-interest does not interfere, the judgment has been seldom found to err. It is highly interesting to those Europeans who visit the palace, to see the crowds that constantly resort to the tribunal of his highness; for the easiest access is afforded to all classes of his subjects, to whose complaints and grievances a patient ear is directed. Without the intervention of lawyers, his sentence is speedily pronounced and not less promptly executed; for, on hearing the respective parties, and examining the evidence on both sides, he makes a sign with his hand,—an indication known only to his officers,—denoting the punishment which is to

* Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. p. 352. Memoir on Tunis.
† Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 234.

be inflicted, whether bastinado, imprisonment, or the more severe penalty of death.

But, leaving the history of this barbarian state, we shall advert very briefly to the actual condition of its principal towns, and the manners of the inhabitants. Tunis itself, the capital of the pashalic, stands on the western brink of a lake between twenty and thirty miles in circumference, which communicates with the gulf through the narrow entrance of the Goletta. The strength of the place consists in the several fortresses which command this approach, and which were formerly thought capable of defying the strongest fleets in Europe. When Blake, on the occasion already mentioned, presented himself on the coast to demand reparation for the injuries inflicted on the commerce of England, the dey desired him to look at the castles of Porto Farina and Goletta, and do his utmost. The admiral required not to be roused by such a bravado; he drew his ships close up to the forts, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He sent a numerous detachment of sailors in their longboats into the harbour, and burnt every vessel that lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered safe, was executed with little loss, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of his country's valour.*

The city itself is placed on a rising ground, but has nevertheless the great disadvantage of being encompassed by swamps and marshes, which, in a less favourable climate, would render it extremely unhealthy. It is supposed to be about three miles in circumference, and to contain nearly 150,000 inhabitants. The number of houses has been computed

* Hume's History of England, vol. vii. p. 254.

at 12,000, though it is acknowledged that they are neither lofty nor magnificent. The town, according to Mr M'Gill, is surrounded with a miserable wall of mud and stone, fitted neither for ornament nor for use. The buildings are of mean architecture; the whole city not presenting one worthy of description. "The bey," says he, "is erecting a palace, which, when finished, may perhaps be handsome; but it is buried in a dirty narrow street; and, that nothing may be lost, the ground-floor is intended for shops. He is also building extensive barracks for his soldiers. The streets are narrow, dirty, and unpaved; the bazaars are of the poorest appearance, and but indifferently stocked with merchandise. The inhabitants who crowd their miserable alleys present the very picture of poverty and oppression."*

It was at one time the intention of his highness to drain the lake, and to form a channel in which vessels of burthen might proceed to the town, where a handsome port was to be prepared, fitted to contain not only merchantmen, but also the national ships of war. Many obstacles, however, arose to prevent the execution of this princely design. The withdrawing of the water from so large a surface might, it was said, create bad air, and the country, which had just been scourged by the pestilence, might again be visited by disease. The engineers were also of opinion that ten years would be necessary to complete the work, with the labour of 10,000 slaves, and a great outlay of money and materials. For these reasons the plan was abandoned, and he has contented himself

* Account of Tunis, p. 56. Mr M'Gill remarks, that the population must be great; but in Mohammedan countries it is not permitted to number the people.

with constructing a small harbour at the Goletta. Into this vessels of moderate size can enter through a handsome canal built of stone, in which there is at all times fifteen feet of water. We may add, that the lake is daily becoming more shallow, and will, it is probable, at no distant date, accomplish by natural means the object on which Hamooda was willing to expend so much labour and wealth.

The climate of Tunis is one of the finest in the world, and admirably adapted for the production of most of those articles which, for the supply of Europe, are brought from an immense distance. All the coast of Barbary is capable of bearing cotton, sugar, and spices of almost every kind. Indigo and silk might also be procured with a little care. The soil, too, throughout the whole state, is remarkably good, and, with scarcely any cultivation, renders to the husbandman an astonishing return. The district to the eastward gives in a good year even a hundred fold. But the contrast is great when the usual rains are withheld. The ground then becomes arid and steril; the seed perishes in the furrow; the olive appears shrivelled and withered; and the flocks die for want of food. Such, it is said, was the dreadful spectacle in 1805, when thousands of human beings, as well as of the lower animals, sunk under the pressure of famine.

It is remarkable, that throughout the greater part of the regency, the water in the springs is either salt or hot. There are, indeed, some fountains, such as those at Zowan, which supply a cool and refreshing beverage; but the water used at Tunis is that which is collected during the winter in cisterns. With one of these reservoirs each house is provided;

and as the roofs are flat, every drop of rain is saved. On this subject, it is not undeserving of notice, that the natives of the interior, who are accustomed to their salt and tepid currents, not only experience no inconvenience from such an unpalatable draught, but even prefer it to the more natural state of the liquid in streams or fountains.*

Mr M'Gill observes, that the regency of Tunis was never on so respectable a footing as it is at present; and the subject never before enjoyed such independence, and so great a degree of protection from external enemies. The troops of Hamooda, also, are better paid than those of any former prince; and though they are much more like a band of freebooters than a regular army, yet they are sufficient to keep in check his principal foes, the Algerines, who cannot in any respect be pronounced better soldiers. It is presumed that, under his successor, Sidi Hassan, who ascended the vice-regal throne in 1824, the progress of improvement has not been checked.

Thirty years ago, a Christian could scarcely walk through the streets, much less the country, without being insulted. This, says M. Blaquière, seldom occurs now; and although the hatred of the natives towards Jews and Nazarenes has not subsided in the least, the fear of punishment is a certain bar to their insolence. Even in the days of Dr Shaw, he could pronounce the Tunisians the most civilized nation of Barbary; having very little of that haughty behaviour which was then very common at Algiers. They had for some years, if we may trust to his favourable report, been more intent on trade and the

* Account of Tunis, p. 62.

improvement of their manufactures than upon plundering and cruising.

The great body of the inhabitants are Moors; the number of Jews being about 30,000, while the Christians are not supposed to exceed 1500. The people of Tunis present little in manners or usage peculiar to their country, or which may not be found among other Mohammedans. From their great ignorance, they are, as might be expected, extremely superstitious; and hence, most of their actions are guided by omens, signs, or prognostications. In their religion, too, they are thought to be more rigorous than their brethren elsewhere. Mosques which, even in Constantinople, may be visited with impunity, would at Tunis be regarded as utterly profaned were they entered by any individual not of their own belief. It is even asserted, that for such an offence a Christian would forfeit his life.

The *evil eye* is a superstition which prevails greatly among the African Mussulmans. If a horse, mule, or any domesticated animal belonging to one person, be praised by another, it is considered as irretrievably lost; and a child that is admired is expected with certainty to meet some misfortune. The unlucky omen of thirteen sitting down at the same table, has no less influence among ignorant Turks and Moors than it has among certain classes in Europe, who maintain that the same individuals will never meet again. A strange belief obtains among the people of Barbary, which they say is founded on an ancient prophecy, that their country is to be taken from them on a Friday, during the hour of prayer at noon. For this reason the gates of their cities are carefully locked during that service, and no one is

allowed to pass until the mid-day devotion is ended. It is also predicted, that the country is to be taken by a people clothed in red; and they themselves anticipate that this exploit is to be achieved by the English. "It will certainly be a matter of regret," says Mr M'Gill, "if the prophecy is not fulfilled."*

Before their armies march on any expedition, the astrologers are employed to watch the rising of a particular star. Should it attain the horizon in a clear sky, they augur good, discharge their artillery, and plant the standard round which the camp is to be formed; but if it rise obscured by clouds or by a fog, they consider the omen unfavourable, and defer the display of their national flag until another day. When the camp breaks up, which is usually established near the bey's palace, a pair of black bulls are sacrificed as the commander passes. The arrival of a detachment to join the main army was attended with impressive circumstances. Before entering the gates of Tunis, we are told, they grounded their colours and arms, knelt down and prayed. After this ceremony they advanced into the city; when the ladies from the roofs of the houses saluted them with their "*loo-loo*," and the men answered by the discharge of their muskets.

The Moors here are said to be less jealous of their wives than the Turks. The latter have them guarded and watched very strictly, whereas the former allow them a considerable degree of freedom. They are served by Christian slaves, and fear less to be seen uncovered by them than by their own countrymen. It is doubtful, however, whether this greater liberty does not arise from the contempt or indiffer-

* Account of Tunis, p. 87.



Moorish Lady and Fashionable Moor.

ence with which they regard all mankind who do not profess the Mohammedan faith. The cut inserted above represents a lady of condition, accompanied by one of the other sex in the same rank of society.

The Tunisians have a curious custom of fattening their young women for marriage. A girl, after she is betrothed, is cooped up in a small room, when shackles of gold and silver are put upon her ankles and wrists as a piece of dress. If she is to be united to a man who has already had a wife, the shackles which the former spouse wore are put upon the new bride's limbs; and she is fed till they are filled up to the proper thickness. The food used for this pur-

pose, worthy of barbarians, is a seed called *drough;* which is of an extraordinary fattening quality, and also famous for rendering the milk of nurses rich and abundant. With this and their national dish *cuscusou,* the young female is literally crammed, and many, it is asserted, die under the spoon.

It is hardly necessary to observe, that a plurality of wives is allowed in Barbary as well as in all Mohammedan countries. A man, it is well known, may have four, and as many concubines as he can maintain. It seldom happens, however, that a Moor has more than two at the same time; but the ceremony of divorcing them is so simple, that he may change as often as he finds it convenient.

This people show great respect to their dead relations. On holidays they are to be seen praying at their tombs, which are kept clean, and whitewashed; and any infidel who should dare to enter them would certainly suffer a severe punishment from the enraged enthusiasts.

We require not to be told, that in Barbary the fine arts are totally abandoned; and, like all other ignorant tribes, the Moors seek to destroy each vestige of ancient grandeur which happens to remain in their country. Every piece of fine marble which they find in any way polished or sculptured is studiously broken to atoms; suspecting from its weight, or the care bestowed upon it, that it must contain money. Statues seldom escape mutilation from the same idea, as well as from their abhorrence of idolatry,—a use to which they imagine such works must originally have been appropriated. They have no paintings in their houses; and the extreme jealousy of the government renders it unsafe for any who

knows the principles of the art to indulge his taste even in the most private manner. Their music, it is added, is of the most barbarous kind; the braying of an ass is sweeter than their softest note, whether vocal or instrumental.*

Mr M'Gill, our best authority on this subject, has a very bad opinion of the character of the Moors, who, he says, are proud, ignorant, cunning, full of deceit, avaricious, and ungrateful. In dealing with these barbarians, he adds, it is a mistaken notion on the part of Europeans to treat them either with friendship or delicacy; they have no regard for either. If they do not commit outrages on your person and property, their forbearance proceeds, not from justice or humanity, but from fear or interest. The first moment that offers in which they may with impunity defraud or plunder a Christian, their hatred and thievish inclinations will be gratified. In order to be respected or kindly used by any of the Barbary powers, the rod must be kept over their heads. You must begin by making them sensible of your superiority. No concession must be granted but in return for something equivalent, and not until it has been repeatedly requested; and even then it must be yielded with apparent reluctance. Should you stand in need of any thing which they can construe into a favour, you may be assured, that unless through fear, interest, or some other base motive, your wishes will not be regarded by either prince or subject; for the same want of faith, honour, gratitude, and generous spirit, beginning at the fountain-head, runs through the whole polluted stream.

* Account of Tunis, p. 89-92.

As an example of the spirit which prevails at Tunis, it may be mentioned, that the late bey reserved to himself the privilege of driving in a carriage with four wheels; and, therefore, all others, natives as well as foreigners, were obliged to satisfy themselves with a vehicle having only two. But at length he was smitten with the desire of riding in a gig; and observing that the American consul had a very handsome one, he sent for it with no other apology than that "he needed it," and the owner might find another. On a second occasion his excellency remarked, that a wine merchant had a very fine mule, which he thought much too good for an individual in his line of life. He therefore demanded it, as a very suitable animal for the head of the government to give away in the shape of a present; and in this simple manner he contrived to maintain the state of a sovereign without encroaching upon the funds of the public exchequer.*

Revenge is considered one of the *noble* qualities of a Moor. He retains long the remembrance of an injury, and will exert all the cunning and deceit of his character to ensnare his enemy and satiate his resentment. He will even so far disguise his feelings as to show stronger marks of friendship, until, having lulled suspicion and awakened confidence, he can fall at unawares upon his unsuspecting foe. Fighting this people with their own weapons is one mode of conquest, both in political and in mercantile concerns, which has been occasionally recommended; and it has been seriously argued, that in order to deal with them to advantage, you must oppose intrigue to intrigue, and injustice to injustice, other-

* Account of Tunis, p. 92.

wise they will be sure to overcome you. But Mr M'Gill, who was professionally engaged in mercantile pursuits at Tunis, justly remarks that, though this maxim has been much followed, honesty is after all the best policy; and that a man on his guard against their weak arts will render them entirely futile by a systematic determination to act with uniform integrity himself, and never in any degree to submit to imposition from them.*

From the statements already made, we are prepared to hear that the most sordid ideas pervade all ranks of the Moorish population. Among the lower class it is curious to observe that, when called upon to pay their dues to the prince, they uniformly plead inability, and make use of every protestation to support their defence. The tax-gatherer, accustomed to this kind of apology, immediately puts the recusant under the bastinado; upon which he cries out at the highest pitch of his voice that he will pay all he owes, and, generally, before rising from the ground, draws forth his bag and satisfies the collector. On an occasion of this kind, a gentleman who stood by inquired of the man who had endured this cruel punishment, why he did not pay at once? "What!" he replied, "pay my taxes without being bastinadoed! No! no!" Such conduct, it is suggested, may arise, not only from great ignorance and love of money, which makes them hope to the last moment that they will escape, but also from the rapacious nature of the government, which renders it dangerous to appear rich.†

The population of the regency was formerly estimated at five millions,—a mere conjecture, however,

* Account of Tunis, p. 40. † Ibid. p. 41.

as no census takes place, and no authentic records are kept. It is admitted that the great plague and famine in 1805 cut off nearly one half of their numbers,—a statement which, though not a little exaggerated, coincides accurately enough with the present aspect of the country, and the probable amount of the inhabitants. The great majority, of course, are Moors and Arabs; the Turks are not thought to exceed seven thousand; the Christians are not more numerous; and the Jews are limited by the latest calculation to a hundred thousand. The native Hebrews are distinguished from Mohammedans by their dress, not being allowed to wear the red cap under the turban; in their case it must be black, or dark-blue. They are sometimes very ill treated, but are not liable to greater exactions than the true believers. There is a Roman Catholic church and convent in Tunis, besides a chapel of the same communion in the French consulate. The number of members does not exceed six hundred, and they are all under the superintendence of a Capuchin friar. The Protestants are still fewer. They consisted, at no distant period, of the family of the English vice-consul, those of the Danish, Swedish, and American consuls, and a few other individuals not attached to the public service. Some of them received the sacrament in the Greek church, and availed themselves of the services of the priests for marriages, baptisms, and burials. The Greeks amount to about two hundred, of whom forty are British subjects, and a hundred and sixty belong to the Ottoman government; the whole, however, viewed as Christians, are under the protection of the English flag.

The revenue of Tunis has been stated at twenty-four millions of piastres, or rather more than a million and a half of our money. But at present the public income from regular sources is supposed not to exceed one-fourth part of the sum just named. The ways and means on which the bey principally relies are the tithes upon the cultivation of oil, corn, and other products of the land; the annual returns from his own grounds; the sale of permits for the exportation of oil and grain, and for the importation of wine and spirits; the customs, which are farmed every year to the highest bidder; various monopolies, which are likewise farmed; the sale of places under government; a taxation on the Jews; and, finally, a traffic in slaves. To these may be added occasional extortions from his rich subjects, the appropriation of their wealth when they die, and his profits in trade, which, as he is an extensive speculator in most kinds of merchandise, may be rated at a considerable amount. It is not imagined, however, that his highness is rich, for the expenses of his administration have at least equalled the revenue. His disputes with Algiers have given rise to large outlays, as well in building gun-boats as in maintaining a standing army,—circumstances which will be mentioned particularly hereafter.

Under the head of revenue, the reader is naturally reminded of the remark made by Dr Shaw, that, as the making of wine has been absolutely prohibited, the duty upon foreign growths has increased to the sum of 50,000 dollars, it being computed that the merchants import every year upwards of 4000 hogsheads,—a quantity, says he, very surprising indeed, were we not at the same time to con-

sider the great number of Turks and Moors who drink here to excess, beyond the practice, perhaps, of any other nation.*

An anecdote recorded by Mr M'Gill, while it rather confirms the charge here brought against the Tunisians, reflects so much credit on the memory of the late bey, that it must not be omitted. Hamooda, it is confessed, was much addicted to the use of wine; and his palace had more the appearance of being occupied by a northern than by an oriental prince. His slaves, who had not the same injunctions imposed on them by their religion, indulged him in his excesses, and became his companions in riot and revelry. Great outrages were committed by them when under the influence of strong drink; but a circumstance which happened during one of his debauches, about ten years after he came to the throne, had ever afterwards a salutary effect on his conduct. One night as they were over their cups, a noise was heard in the court-yard below. The bey impatiently demanded the occasion of it; and finding that it proceeded from some people belonging to the Dey of Algiers, who were also making merry, he ordered his prime minister, Mustapha, to have them immediately strangled. This prudent counsellor, whose reputation for wisdom still survives in Tunis, received the command, but contented himself with putting the offenders in prison, and telling his master that his instructions had been obeyed. Next morning, when the effects of his intemperance had subsided, his highness inquired about the Algerines. Mustapha reminded him of the order which he had

* Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 172.

given the preceding night. Hamooda, almost frantic with vexation and alarm, asked if it was executed. The other replied in the negative, and was heartily thanked by the bey, who now saw in a very strong light the cruelty and injustice of the sentence which he had pronounced. From that moment he never tasted wine nor any species of intoxicating liquor.*

The state of Tunis, it is universally acknowledged, is much more interesting for what it once was, than for its modern towns, institutions, or manners. As the country in which Carthage stood, and wherein were fought the battles which decided the fate of the greatest nations of antiquity, it must for ever possess an importance that hardly any degree of civilisation can supersede. This famous town was built upon an eminence which commands a most extensive view, both towards the land and the water, and appears to have occupied a large space of ground. From an estimate made by Dr Shaw on the spot, he concluded that the whole peninsula was about thirty miles round, and that the city may have covered nearly one-half of its area. On the south-eastern side, the sea has encroached so much upon the shore, that for the space of about three furlongs in length and half a furlong or more in breadth, the ruins lie entirely under water. In rowing along the beach, the common sewers are frequently discovered; which, being well built and cemented together, the great lapse of time has not been able to impair. The cisterns are other structures which have suffered very little; for besides those belonging to private houses, which are numerous, there are two sets which, it is evident

* Account of Tunis, p. 20.

from their magnitude, must have been the property of the public. The larger of these formed the grand reservoir, which received the water conveyed by the celebrated aqueduct, and consisted of more than twenty contiguous cisterns, each of them at least 100 feet long and thirty broad. The smaller establishment is in a higher situation, near the byrsa or castle, and seems contrived to collect the rain which fell upon the top of it, as also upon some adjacent pavements made for that purpose. This reservoir, it is said, might be repaired at a small expense; the earthen pipes, through which the water was conducted from the roof, requiring only to be cleansed and opened.*

Besides these, adds the traveller just quoted, there are no tokens left us of the grandeur and magnificence of this famous place. We meet with no triumphal arches or sumptuous pieces of architecture; here are no granite pillars or curious entablatures; but the broken walls and structures that remain are either built in the Gothic taste, or according to that of the later inhabitants. These remarks, however, apply only to such of the ruins as respect the more modern buildings; for it has been already mentioned, that the remains of columns, displaying all the beauty of the Corinthian order, are to be found scattered over the contiguous plain.

The remains of the grand aqueduct may still be traced from the larger reservoir as far as Zowan, and from thence to Zunghar, a distance of at least fifty miles. It has been a work of extraordinary labour and expense; and that portion of it in particular which runs along the peninsula, was elegantly built with hewn

* Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 164.

stone. At Arriana, a little village two miles to the northward of Tunis, is seen a long range of arches, all of them entire, seventy feet high, supported by columns sixteen feet square. The channel that conveyed the water lies upon these arches, being high and broad enough for a person of an ordinary size to walk in. It is vaulted above, and plastered in the inside with a strong cement; which, by the stream running through it, is discoloured to the height of about three feet. This sufficiently shows the capacity of the channel; but as there are several interruptions in the aqueduct, sometimes to the extent of three or four miles together, it was found impossible to determine the velocity or angle of descent, so as to ascertain the quantity of water that might be every day conveyed through it to Carthage. Both at Zowan and Zunghar, there was a temple erected over the respective fountains whence this copious supply of one of the indispensable necessaries of life was obtained. The structure at the latter hamlet appears, from the ornaments still remaining, to have been of the Corinthian order, where there is a beautiful dome, adorned with three niches, placed immediately over the spring. These, it is more than probable, were intended to receive certain statues, representing the gods who were imagined to preside over running streams or living waters.

Mr M'Gill observes, that the entire space between Tunis and Cape Carthage is strewed over with antiquities. He mentions, at the same time, that the greater cisterns are now become the habitation of those miserable Bedouins who remain in this part of the country. Near the smaller ones, towards the sea, are the ruins of an immense temple, of which

nothing is now left but rubbish, if we except the subterranean passages, which, though nearly filled up by the earth that has been thrown into them by the rains of many centuries, may yet be followed under ground to a great extent. The whole of the site of ancient Carthage, indeed, is occupied by similar excavations,—denoting that one town has been built on the scattered fragments of another much more magnificent. A short while ago, an edifice was discovered, consisting of several apartments in a tolerably perfect state, and having good paintings on the roof of one of the rooms. The adjoining fields, too, are sprinkled with small pieces of porphyry and verde antique, about half an inch thick and two or three square, which formed a sort of incrustation on the walls. The lofty arches seem to have been lined with rude mosaic-work, composed in some parts of marble, in others of more varied materials. On Mount Gamart, westward of the cape, are evident marks of an ancient catacomb, the dimensions of which must have been considerable; but no one dares to enter it, though it is open in different places. Many medals, chiefly Roman, are found in every district, and numerous curiously-engraved stones; but the Christians at Tunis are such speculators in these things, that, unless at a great price, none can be procured, even though of small merit.*

Such are the scanty remnants of a city, the population of which, before the first Punic war, amounted to 700,000, and which, when taken by Scipio, could not be destroyed by fire in less than seventeen days. It revived from its ashes, as we have already remarked, and had again become, in the days of

* Account of Tunis, p. 71.

Strabo, one of the largest towns in Africa. Of its condition during the fourth and fifth centuries, Gibbon observes, that though it might yield to the royal prerogatives of Constantinople, and perhaps to the trade of Alexandria, or the splendour of Antioch, it still maintained the second rank in the West, as the *Rome* of the African world. "That wealthy and powerful metropolis displayed, in a dependent condition, the image of a flourishing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treasuries of the six provinces. A regular subordination of civil honours gradually ascended, from the procurators of the streets and quarters of the city to the tribunal of the supreme magistrate; who, with the title of proconsul, represented the state and dignity of a consul of ancient Rome. Schools and gymnasia were instituted for the education of the African youth; and the liberal arts and manners, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, were publicly taught in the Greek and Latin languages. The buildings of Carthage were uniform and magnificent. A shady grove was planted in the midst of the capital; the *new* port, a secure and capacious harbour, was subservient to the commercial industry of citizens and strangers; and the splendid games of the circus and the theatre were exhibited almost in the presence of the barbarians."* The reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country, and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their inconstant and subtle character.

We have elsewhere alluded to the ravages of the Vandals in the fifth century, and the overthrow inflicted by the Saracens in the seventh, under their

* Decline, &c. chap. xxxiii.

enthusiastic leaders. But it should seem, that in neither of these cases was the destruction entire; for, in the beginning of the ninth century, considerable remains still existed of its beauty and strength. Edrisi, however, describes its appearance in the twelfth age as nothing more than a scene of splendid ruins. "There are," says he, "still to be seen remarkable vestiges of Roman buildings; for instance, the theatre, which has not its equal in the world. This edifice is of a circular form, and is composed of about fifty arches, yet remaining. Each of these arches embraces a space of about twenty-three feet. Between every two arches is a pillar of equal magnitude, the two pilasters of which are about three feet four inches in breadth. Above each of them rise five rows of arches, one over the other, of similar form and dimensions, constructed of stone of incomparable fineness. On the top of each arch was a frieze, on which are seen divers figures and curious representations of men, animals, and ships, sculptured with exquisite art. In general, it may be said, that the other ruins, and the finest edifices of this description, are nothing in comparison with the one now delineated."

He next proceeds to mention the cisterns and aqueduct, the latter of which, he remarks, "extended along an infinite number of bridges, where the water flowed in an equal and regular manner. These bridges are composed of arches, which are low or of moderate height in the plain, but of great elevation in the valleys and hollows. In the present day it is quite dry, having ceased to flow, in consequence of the depopulation of Carthage, and because, from the time of the fall of the city till now,

there has been constant excavation among its ruins, and even under the foundations of its ancient edifices. Marbles have been discovered there of so many different species, that it would be impossible to describe them. An eyewitness reports, that he saw taken out blocks thirty feet high, and sixty-three inches in diameter. Nor have these spoliations been yet discontinued. The marbles are transported far away to all countries; and nobody leaves Carthage without carrying off considerable quantities, either by vessels or by other means: it is a notorious fact. Sometimes marble columns have been found thirty feet in circumference."*

The circumstances now detailed by the Arabian geographer will account, in some measure, for the absence of such splendid relics and gorgeous ornament, as might be expected amidst the ruins of the Carthaginian capital. The destructive agency of time, and the hands of the ignorant or the covetous, have produced the poverty of which Dr Shaw complains, and which every succeeding year must be found to increase. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, accordingly, the second metropolis of the West was represented by a mosque, a college without students, twenty or thirty shops, and the huts of 500 peasants, who, in their abject poverty, displayed the arrogance of the Punic senators. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles V. had stationed in the fortress of the Goletta. At this epoch we therefore may say that even the ruins of Carthage have perished.†

* This passage, translated from the original Arabic by M. Amédée Jaubert, was inserted in the Jour. Asiatique for May 1828. See Modern Traveller, vol. i. p. 237.

† Decline and Fall, &c. chap. lii.

Chateaubriand relates, that, when he cast anchor opposite the debris of this ancient city, he looked at them, but was unable to distinguish what they could be. He perceived a few Moorish huts, a Mohammedan hermitage at the point of a projecting cape, sheep browsing among ruins,—"ruins, so far from being striking, that I could scarcely distinguish them from the ground on which they lay."*

The large space devoted to the capital, and the interesting remains in its neighbourhood, compels us to restrict within narrower bounds our description of the other cities. It may be observed in the outset, that this kingdom is not divided into provinces and governed by viceroys like that of Algiers, but the whole is under the immediate inspection of the bey himself, who collects the tribute in person. For this purpose he visits, with a flying camp, once every year, the principal parts of it,—traversing in the summer season the fertile country in the neighbourhood of Keff and Beja, and in the winter the several districts between Kairwan and the Jerid. These two circuits very nearly correspond with the Zeugitania and the Byzacium of the ancients; the former, or summer-circuit, comprehends all the land that lies to the northward of the Gulf of Hammamet, while the latter, or winter-circuit, embraces the section which extends southwards from the same parallel.

Beginning with the western part of Zeugitania, our attention is drawn to a magnificent cape, supposed to be the spot where Scipio landed in his first African expedition. A few miles to the southward is the town of Bizerta, pleasantly situated on a canal

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 286.

betwixt an extensive lake and the sea. It is about a mile in circumference, and defended by several fortresses; but its chief importance, in a geographical point of view, arises from the supposition that it is the Hippo Zaritus of ancient authors.

The site of Utica, so famous for the opposition made by its inhabitants to the cause of Cæsar, and for the death of the republican Cato, can no longer be determined. The Bagrada, the river on which it stood, having changed its course, and large accessions being made to the land by depositions from its current, it is now a matter of conjecture where the ruins of a city so intimately connected with the history of Africa are to be sought.

Proceeding eastward from Tunis, the traveller, at the distance of six miles, reaches the town of Rhades, celebrated as the place where Regulus defeated the Carthaginians. About a league farther on, in the same direction, is Hammam Leif, named from the hot-baths with which it abounds. Near this position is the village of Solyman, inhabited by Andalusian Moors, who, being more civilized than their African brethren, are very courteous to Christians: they still retain the Spanish language. Passing Moraisah and Sidi Doud, we come to Lowharcah, the Aquilaria of Pliny, where Curio landed those troops which were afterwards cut in pieces by Sabura. It presents various fragments of architecture, but none worthy of particular notice. In this vicinity Cape Bon rears its prominent ridge, from which, it is said, the mountains of Sicily may be seen in clear weather. Fifteen miles from this cape is Clybea, the Kalibia of the Latins, which is now represented by a miserable knot of hovels.

Ghurba, in former times Corubis, is seven leagues distant from the village just described. It was once a considerable place; though, at present, the ruins of a large aqueduct, with the cisterns that received the water, are the only antiquities. Nabal, which next succeeds, holds the place of Neapolis, the wrecks of which prove it to have been a considerable city, even exclusive of that part of it long ago swallowed up by the sea. From this point, a journey of two leagues brings the visiter to Hammamet, or the Dwelling of Wild Pigeons, which Leo Africanus informs us was built about his own time. The pillars, blocks of marble, and inscriptions, with some few other tokens of antiquity, are understood to have been brought from the neighbouring ruins of Cassir Aseite, the Civitas Siagitana of classical authors. In a contiguous plain is a building called the Manarah, a large mausoleum, nearly twenty yards in diameter, of a cylindrical form, with a vault underneath it. Several small altars,—conjectured by the Moors to have been so many *manara*, or lamps displayed for the direction of mariners,—are placed upon the cornice. This position marks the boundary, on the seacoast, between the summer and winter circuits.*

The towns in the interior of the same division are not unworthy of notice. Returning to the western border, we meet with Beja or Bay-Jah, supposed to be the Vacca of Sallust, and the Oppidum Vagense of Pliny. It is still a place of consi-

* Shaw, vol. i. p. 181. The altars bear the following inscription:—

L. ÆMILIO AFRICANO AVUNCULO
C. SUELLIO PONTARO PATRUELI
VITELLIO QUARTÒ PATRI.

derable trade,—the chief mart, indeed, of the whole kingdom, particularly for corn, by the price of which all commodities are estimated. In the plain of Busdera, on the banks of the Mejerdah, a public fair is held every summer, which is frequented by the most distant Arabian tribes, who resort thither with their flocks, their manufactories, and their families. Near the river just mentioned is Tuburbo, a village inhabited by Spanish Moors. In this neighbourhood, a late bey planted a great variety of fruit-trees, which were ranged in so particular a manner that each species was confined to one grove, and thereby removed from the influence of every other. Thus, the orange-trees were all placed by themselves, without the admission of the lime or the citron; and where the pear or the apple was gathered, there was no encouragement to look for the peach or the apricot. The traveller next arrives at Tuckaaber and Tubersoke, which present nothing remarkable beyond a few inscriptions which have now become nearly unintelligible. Passing the latter of these hamlets we come to Lorbus; and at an equal distance from both is the ancient Musti, now called Abdel Ablus, where there are the remains of a beautiful triumphal arch. Upon a stone which may have formerly belonged to it, is the following dedication:—

INVICTISSIMO FELICISSIMOQUE IMPERATORI
AUGUSTO CÆSARI ORBIS PACATORI
. . . MUSTICENSIUM D. D.

Keff, known as the Sicca Veneria of Roman authors, situated about seventy miles from Tunis, is esteemed, in point of riches and strength, the third town in the kingdom. During the civil war already

recorded, the greatest part of the citadel was blown up; but it has been rebuilt on an improved plan, which contributes at once to its beauty and efficiency. In levelling an adjacent mount, to find materials for this fortress, the workmen brought to light an entire statue of Venus, which, however, was no sooner seen than it was broken to pieces by these barbarians. This discovery is regarded as at once authorizing and illustrating the epithet of Veneria, by which the town is distinguished. There was also dug up, at the same time, an equestrian statue, dedicated to Marcus Antoninus Rufus, which suffered the fate of the other. Keff, as the name imports, stands upon the declivity of a hill, with a plentiful spring of water near the centre of it. The following inscription can still be read on a public building:—

VICTORI<br>
CONTURIONI<br>
LEGIONARIO<br>
EX EQUITE<br>
ROMANO<br>
OB MUNIFI<br>
CENTIAM ORDO<br>
SICCENSIUM<br>
. . . CIVI<br>
ET CONDECURIONI<br>
D. D. P. P.

Tubersoke, about seven leagues south from Tunis, is built in the form of a crescent between two ridges of a very verdant mountain, and presents, as the sole remains of antiquity, a large pair of stag's horns, well delineated in low-relief, on the gate of an extensive edifice. To Zowan, the only other town in this direction, we have already alluded, as one of the sources whence water was supplied to Carthage. At the present day its reputa-

tion is confined to the dyeing of scarlet caps and the bleaching of linen, great quantities of both being daily brought thither from Tunis and Susa.*

In Byzacium, or the winter-circuit, there are still towns which, either from their ancient importance, or the conspicuous place they hold in modern maps, are worthy of a brief notice. Herkla, the Heraclea of the Lower Empire, the Justiniana of the middle ages, and the Adrumetum of remoter antiquity, stands on the Gulf of Hammamet. Susa, a few miles farther to the south-east, possesses some notoriety as a market for oil and fine linen, and may be reckoned one of the most considerable cities of which the Tunisians can boast. Its architectural remains, though not splendid, prove that it must have been a place of distinction, even as early as the days of Cæsar. Passing Sahaleel and Monasteer, we arrive at Lempta, the Leptis Parva of Hirtius and Lucan; of which, however, nothing now is seen except the ruins of a castle and some traces of its cothon or harbour. Agar and Demass, mentioned by the annalist of Cæsar's campaigns, still retain sufficient indications of strength to explain the value which was attached to their occupation by that master in the art of war. Mahedia is situated upon a peninsula five miles to the south of the latter of these towns, and appears to have been a place of great consequence. Leo Africanus says it was built by Mahdi, the first patriarch of Kairwan, and therefore assumed his name; but Dr Shaw remarks, there is something too regular in several of the remaining capitals, entablatures, and other pieces of the ancient

* Shaw, vol. i. p. 191.

masonry, even defaced as they now appear, to warrant the opinion that the founder of them was an Arab.*

At Sallecto, the Sublecte of the middle ages, are the ruins of a castle little inferior in extent to the Tower of London, erected apparently for the protection of a small port which lies below it. Elalia, besides the ordinary remains of old towns, displays those of several cisterns, with large paved areas built over them, meant to receive the rain-water by which they were periodically replenished. These, and similar structures in this part of the country, are ascribed to the Sultan Ben Aglib, a prince who, for his public spirit and warlike exploits, is justly held in the greatest veneration. Advancing along the shore, we observe Sbea, Ca-poudia, and the two islands of Karkenna, the Cerrina and the Corinitis of the old geographers. Here it is usual to fix the commencement of the Lesser Syrtis; from which point to the island of Jerba, there is a succession of flat islets and sand-banks, whence the inhabitants derive much advantage in their simple fisheries. Sfax or Sfakus, a thriving village, carries us on to Thainee and Maharess, at the latter of which stations are the relics of a fortress. Then follow on the line of the coast Ellamait, Suli Midthil, and Woodlif. Three leagues from this last is Cabes, the Epichus of Scylax and the Tacape of other ancient geographers, where Dr Shaw was struck with the appearance of a heap of ruins, among which were some beautiful granite pillars. They were all of them square, and twelve feet long; and, on the whole,

* El Mahdia oppidum nostris ferè temporibus a Mahdi primo Cairoan pontifice conditum. Descriptio Africæ, p. 573. Shaw, vol. i. p. 208.

were such as he had not seen in any other part of Africa. A walk of three miles conducts the stranger to the little village of Tobulba, whence, in a clear atmosphere, may be descried the island of Jerba, the southern boundary of the Tunisian state.*

In regard to some of the towns now mentioned, M. Blaquière supplies a few notices worthy of being inserted. He tells us, for example, that the population of Susa amounts to 8000 or 10,000; that the country around is extremely beautiful and well cultivated; and that thirty miles in the interior there is a colossal amphitheatre in a high state of preservation. Gabes, or, as he writes it, Cabes, contains at least 30,000 souls, and the mountains in its vicinity are famous for the warlike disposition of the inhabitants. It is said that the sheik of this province can bring into the field 20,000 cavalry; horses being very numerous and of a superior quality. Of the island of Jerba, the Meninx of Pliny, he remarks, that it is only separated from the continent by a narrow channel, not navigable. The natives, exceeding 30,000 in number, are considered by far the most industrious and well disposed under his highness' government. Their manufactures of shawls, linen, and woollen cloths, have prospered uncommonly, and are generally esteemed the best in all Barbary.†

In the inland parts of Byzacium, too, are some important places, of which we shall shortly mention the principal. At Kairwan, the ancient Cairoan, are several fragments of architecture; and the mosque, which is accounted the most magnificent in Northern Africa, is said to be supported by an almost incre-

* Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 216.
† Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 182.

dible number of granite pillars,—not fewer than 500. But no inscriptions of any value were discovered; and considering the comparatively modern origin of the place, in connexion with the character of its founders, such literary indications were not to be expected. Jemme, called Tisdra in the time of Julius Cæsar, is distinguished by the beautiful remains of a spacious amphitheatre, to which allusion has been already made, consisting originally of sixty-four rows of arches, and four rows of columns placed one above another. The highest series, which was probably an attic structure, is much dilapidated; and Mohammed Bey, who, during the civil dissensions, used it as a fortress, blew up four of its arches from top to bottom. Viewed from the outside, nothing could appear more entire or magnificent. As the elder Gordian was proclaimed emperor in this city, it is not improbable, that in gratitude to the place where he received the purple, he laid the foundation and defrayed the expense of the building.

But Sfaitla, formerly Sufetula, is the most remarkable town in Barbary for the extent and magnificence of its ruins. First, there is a splendid triumphal gateway of the Corinthian order, consisting of one large arch, with a smaller one on each side of it, having these few words of dedication remaining on the architrave:—

IMP. CÆSAR AUG. . . . .
ONIN. . . . .

SUFFETULENTIUM . . . .
HANC EDIFICAVERUNT
ET DD. P. P.

At the end of a regular pavement, the visiter passes

through a beautiful portico, built in the same style and manner as the triumphal arch, which conducts into a spacious court. Here are the ruins of three contiguous temples, of which the several roofs, porticos, and façades, are indeed broken down; but the rest of the fabric, with its respective columns, pediments, and entablatures, remains perfectly entire.

Gilma, which has the area of a temple still remaining, is supposed to have been a great city. It stood six leagues to the eastward of Sufetula, and was known among Roman authors by the name of Oppidum Chilmanense. The town of Casareene, the Colonia Scillitana of former days, claims some attention for a triumphal arch, though it be more remarkable for the quantity and value of the materials than for the beauty or elegance of the design. On the top there is an attic structure, having certain Corinthian-like ornaments bestowed upon the entablature, while the pilasters themselves are entirely Gothic. At the interval of seven leagues, the traveller, proceeding towards the south and west, discovers the vestiges of Feriana, which is conjectured to be the Thala repeatedly mentioned by Sallust. Its boasted grandeur is now reduced to a few granite pillars, which, by some extraordinary chance, or unwonted forbearance of the Arabs, have been allowed to stand on their pedestals. Advancing in the same direction, the eye will detect in succession Gaffsa, another of the strong cities of Jugurtha, and Gorbata, which marks the edge of the Jerid, or dry country, belonging to the domains of the ancient Getulia.

In this neighbourhood there is a salt-water marsh, sixty miles long and about eighteen broad, usually

denominated the "Lake of Marks," or Lowdeah, owing to a number of stakes placed at proper distances, to direct the caravans in their march over it. Without such assistance, says Dr Shaw, travelling here would be both dangerous and difficult, as well from the variety of pits and quicksands that could not otherwise be avoided, as because the opposite shore has no other tokens to be known by, except some date-trees, which are not seen above sixteen miles at the most. Scattered over this desolate tract are numerous villages, the names of which have scarcely ever reached a European ear, and which are occupied by a class of Bedouins who divide their cares between their scanty flocks and the avocations of plunder, mutual hostility, and assassination. We travel, to use the words of the amusing author just quoted, "nearly thirty miles through a lonesome uncomfortable desert, the resort of cut-throats and robbers, where we saw the recent blood of a Turkish gentleman, who, with three of his servants, had been murdered two days before by these miscreants. Here we were likewise ready to be attacked by five of the Harammees, who were mounted upon black horses, and clothed, to be the less discerned, with cloaks of the same colour. But, finding us prepared to receive them, they came up peaceably to us and gave us the salam. Through all this dreary space, we meet with neither herbage nor water till we arrive within a few miles of Elhamma."*

We shall not attempt to delineate the various gradations of barbarism which distinguish these sons of the Desert, nor to define the limits of name and territory whereby the several tribes identify their

* Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 238.

members as descendants of the same patriarch. The Welled Seide and the Welled Mathie are in our eyes neither more nor less noble than the Beni Yagoube, who enjoy the fertile lands of Keff, or than the sons of Sidi Boogannin, who pitch their tents near the mountains of Hydrah and Ellonleijah. These nomades may acknowledge the sovereignty of Tunis, and allow themselves to be included in the winter-circuit; but it seems not probable that the bey, even with his flying camp, will deem it prudent to exact the yearly tribute, or to make an annual muster of the savage horsemen. Such neighbours, however remote, will for a long time prove the greatest bar to the introduction of European colonies, arts, and manners.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *The Regency of Algiers.*

Origin of the Term Algiers—Importance attached to its History—Boundaries of the State—Appearance of the Town—Its Interior—Population—Fortifications—Narrow Streets—History resumed—Charles V. resolves to attack Algiers—His Force—Preparations of Hassan Aga—Storm disables the Spaniards—Loss of Ships and Men—Sufferings of the Army—Scattered at Sea—Fortitude of the Emperor—These Hostilities had an earlier Origin—Policy of Cardinal Ximenes—Success of his Measures—Moors revolt, and invite Barbarossa—Spaniards deprived of Oran—Expedition of Philip V.—Oran destroyed by an Earthquake—French attack Algiers under Beaulieu—And under Duquesne—The City and Batteries destroyed—The Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Austrians, and Russians, adopt different Measures—English make several Efforts to reduce the Corsairs—Insults during the Reign of George II.—Resolutions by Congress of Vienna—Expedition of Lord Exmouth—Attack on Algiers—Terms acceded to—Captives released—French Government offended—Expedition under Bourmont—Account by Rozet—Present State of Algiers—Revenue—War between Algiers and Tunis—Bona—Tabarca—La Cala—Constantina—Antiquities—Mileu—Remains—Bujeya—Province of Titteri—Bleeda and Medea—Burgh Hamza—Auzea—Beni Mezzab—Province of Tlemsan—Capital—Arbaal—El Herba—Maliana—Aquæ Calidæ Colonia—Oran—Recent History—Inhabitants—Geeza—Carastel—Mostagan—Jol, or Julia Cæsarea—Tefessad—Shershell—Vicinity of Algiers—French Government—Attempt at Colonization—Difficulties—Favourable Climate and Soil—European Powers invited to co-operate—Late Publications on the Subject.

THE term Algiers literally signifies "the island," and was derived from the original construction of its harbour, one side of which was separated from the land. A variety of circumstances have contributed

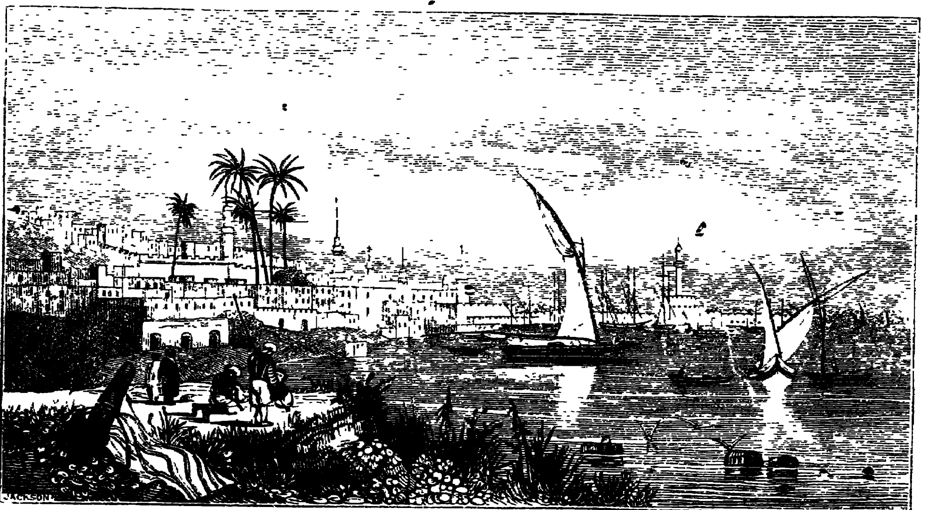
to bestow great celebrity on this capital, some of which reflect as little honour on the policy of European states as on the character of its own rulers and the pursuits of its inhabitants. The extent of territory attached to its government, or claimed by its chiefs, possesses very small importance in the estimation of our politicians, who for centuries have been wont to confine their attention to the harbours only of that barbarian power, whose cruisers inflicted upon the trade of Christendom more damage than could have arisen from a protracted war between the greatest of her maritime nations. Late events, and more especially the recent conquest achieved by the arms of France, have added immensely to the interest with which the history of this most warlike of the Barbary States has ever been regarded on the northern shores of the Mediterranean; marking, it is to be hoped, a new era in the affairs of those Moorish oligarchies by whom the miserable natives have been long oppressed, and the civilisation of the most refined portion of the world put to the blush.

Following the best authorities, we may observe, that the kingdom of Algiers is bounded on the east by the river Zaine, which divides it from Tunis; on the west by the Mountains of Trara; on the south by the Sahara, or Great Desert; and on the north by the Mediterranean. The length is computed at 480 miles, though Sanson, who probably followed the line of the coast, makes it not less than 900,—an estimate which exceeds the truth more than 100 leagues. The breadth varies considerably at different places, the narrowest section, from the sea to the Atlas range, being about forty, while the broadest amounts to 150 miles. Pananti, one of the latest

writers on the subject, assigns to it above 600 miles from west to east, and 180 from the northern shore to the Country of Dates, or Blaid el Jerid. The regency is divided into four provinces,—Algiers, Constantina, Titteri, and Mascara, or Tlemsan; the first being governed by the dey in person, while the others are committed to the administration of certain beys, his lieutenants.

The territory of Algiers, with the exception of the parts bordering on the Desert, is less sandy and more fertile than that of Tunis. Desfontaines remarks, in his Flora Atlantica, that he found the climate more temperate, the mountains higher and more numerous, the rains more abundant, the springs and streams more frequent, the vegetation more active and diversified. This improvement in point of atmospherical properties, and the fruitfulness which usually attends them, may be ascribed to the great elevation of the ridge that intersects this part of the African continent; the summits of which, frequently covered with snow, arrest the progress of the clouds and condense them into rain.

The city, which gives its name to the whole kingdom, rises in the form of an amphitheatre at the extremity of a fortified anchoring-ground. "The tops of the houses, says Joseph Pitts, in his simple manner, "are all over white, being flat and covered with lime and sand, as floors. The upper part of the town is not so broad as the lower part, and, therefore, at sea it looks just like the top-sail of a ship. It is a very strong place, and well fortified with castles and guns. There are seven castles without the walls, and two tiers of guns in most of them. But in the greatest castle, which is on the mole




View of Algiers from the Land.

without the gate, there are three tiers of guns, many of them of an extraordinary length, carrying fifty, sixty, yea eighty pound shot. Besides all these castles, there is at the higher end of the town, within the walls, another castle with many guns. And, moreover, on many places towards the sea are great guns planted. Algiers is well walled, and surrounded with a great trench. It hath five gates, and some of these have two, some three, other gates within them, and some of them plated all over with thick iron. So that it is made strong and convenient for being what it is, a nest of pirates."*

The annexed view is taken from the seashore, a little to the south of the city, and represents the wall which encompasses the town, together with the port. the mole, and certain marine defences.

Perhaps the appearance of this singular place, when viewed from the sea, is still more striking. The white buildings rising in successive terraces have an imposing effect; while the numerous country-mansions scattered over a circle of hills, amid groves of olive, citron, and banana trees, present a peaceful and rural landscape very opposite in its character to that of a nation of pirates. But on entering the city the charm entirely dissolves. The streets are so extremely narrow that in some of them three persons can scarcely walk abreast. This strange style of building is adopted on account of its affording a better shade from the rays of the sun, and more protection in case of earthquakes, by one of which Algiers suffered severely in 1717. The pathway being concave, and rising on each side, the

* A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans, pp. 7, 8.

greatest inconvenience results both to men and animals in passing through the town; and, accordingly, when you meet a person on horseback, you are obliged to stand close by the houses to escape from being trampled under foot.

There are nine great mosques and fifty smaller ones within the walls; three principal schools, and several bazaars. Its finest public buildings are those of the five *cassarias*, which serve as barracks for the soldiery. The dey's palace has two fine courts, surrounded with spacious galleries, surmounted by two rows of marble columns; its internal ornaments consist chiefly of mirrors, clocks, and carpets. There are sundry taverns kept in the city by Christian slaves, which are often frequented even by the Turks and Moors. The population has been variously estimated, on the authority of different writers, who must have formed their estimates on very vague grounds. Salamé thinks there are 20,000 houses, and that the circuit of the walls is not less than four miles, thereby affording a basis on which we might raise an exaggerated computation as to the number of inhabitants. Shaw, who reduces the extent of the city to the circumference of a mile and a half, relates, that it is supposed to contain about 2000 Christian slaves, 15,000 Jews, and 100,000 Mohammedans.*

It is observed by Pananti, that though there are taverns in Algiers, there is no convenience in them for sleeping; so that those who enter it from the country are obliged to lodge with some friend, while European merchants hire apartments in the houses

* Pananti, Narrative of a Residence in Algiers, p. 114. Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 33.

of Jews. The immediate vicinity of the town, he remarks, is understood to contain about twenty thousand vineyards and gardens; the beauty of these environs being in no respect inferior to those of Richmond, Chantilly, or Fiesole. Its effect, however, is much lessened when we reflect on the people into whose possession so fine a country has fallen. The landscape is truly delightful if viewed only with a passing and rapid glance; but when the eye rests upon it, the barrenness and aridity of many spots are disclosed, showing the contempt of its barbarous inhabitants for agriculture, the place of which they endeavour to supply by dedicating themselves to war and plunder.*

When Dr Shaw, about a hundred years ago, resided at Algiers, the walls were weak and of little defence, unless where they were farther secured by some additional fortification. The port, we may subjoin on the same authority, is of an oblong figure, 130 fathoms in length and eighty broad. The Round Castle at the mouth of the harbour, built by the Spaniards when they were masters of the island, and the two large batteries, were said to be bomb-proof, and had each of them their lower embrasures furnished with thirty-six pounders. The guns were of brass, and their carriages and other appendages in good order. The battery of the Mole Gate, upon the eastern angle of the city, was mounted with several long pieces of ordnance, one of which had seven cylinders three inches in diameter. Half a furlong to the south-west of the harbour was the battery of the Fishers' Gate, which, consisting of a double row of cannon, commanded the entrance into the port and

* Narrative, &c. p. 145.

the roadstead before it. But none of these fortifications were assisted either with mines or advanced works; and as the soldiers whose duty it was to defend them could not be brought to a course of regular discipline, a few resolute battalions, protected by a small fleet, would have found little difficulty in reducing the whole and expelling the garrisons.*

The descriptions given by Pitts and Shaw, early in the last century, are confirmed by the actual condition of the place when attacked by the French and English. Salamé, who in 1816 attended the British admiral as interpreter, and who was allowed to visit the capital in person, inserts in his narrative the following details:—"On the north side, about a mile from the town, there is a small castle and several batteries, the last of which is joined to the walls of the city. In this quarter they do not fear any thing, because there is not water enough for anchorage nor for landing. From this wall to the mole there are several batteries more, because this defence is erected in the centre of that part of the city which fronts the sea. On the north head of the mole there is a semicircular battery of two tiers of forty-four guns, called the Lion's Battery, the fire of which bears on the north, on the east, and on the south. After this is another round one, of three tiers and of forty-eight cannons, in the middle of which there is built a tower or lighthouse; and they call it the Lighthouse Battery. This is supported by another, a long one, still more strong, of three tiers, containing sixty-six guns, and called the Eastern Battery. This is flanked by four more of two tiers, one joined to the other, which mount

* Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 84.

sixty guns, directed towards the south-east and the south. On the south head of the mole there are two large sixty-eight pounders, twenty feet long. Almost opposite, there are on the city-side two small batteries of four guns each; but these are followed by a strong battery of twenty guns and a very ancient building situated upon two large arches. From this to the south wall of the city there are two batteries more; and from that to a distance of about a mile and a half south there are several other batteries and a large castle. These are their defences on the seaside; but the rest of the works round the walls of the city, and the two castles situated upon the hills, were too far off for me to observe them well: they say that the whole of their fortifications mounted 1500 guns."*

It has been already remarked, that the interior of this barbaric metropolis does not correspond to the impression made upon the eye of a voyager who approaches it from the north-eastern point of the compass. The foreigner whose observations have just been transcribed relates, that when the envoys from Lord Exmouth entered the gates, they "saw every thing contrary to its fine appearance outside." The streets are very narrow, dirty, and dark, and were at that time full of rubbish. The buildings are all of stone, as well as the tops and floors of the houses, with very little wood. Every four or five tenements are bound together by arches; and they have but very small windows. This city, therefore, could never be burned by rockets; shells are the surest means for its destruction. The following view, taken by an eminent French artist, will give a good

* Expedition to Algiers, p. 30, &c.



View of a Street in Algiers.

idea of the general appearance of the edifices in Algiers, and some notion of the manner in which the native architects construct their dwellings.

Before entering upon the topographical descriptions necessary to illustrate the present state of the several provinces, we shall resume the history of Algiers at the date when it was placed under the dominion of the Turks by the younger Barbarossa. As soon as this renowned corsair was appointed to the command of the Ottoman fleet, the country which he had conquered by arms and deceit was committed to the superintendence of Hassan Aga, a renegade eunuch, who, having passed through every

station in the pirate's service, had gained such experience in war as well fitted him for an office which required a man of tried and daring courage. Hassan, to show how much he deserved the dignity thus conferred upon him, carried on his wonted depredations against the Christian states with amazing activity, and even surpassed Redbeard himself in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his cruisers, and such frequent alarms were given to the coast of Spain, that there was a necessity of erecting watch-towers at proper distances, and of keeping guards constantly on foot, in order to descry the approach of his squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from their ravages. Of this the Emperor Charles V. had received repeated complaints from his subjects, who represented it as an enterprise suitable at once to his power and benevolence, to reduce Algiers, which, since the conquest of Tunis, was become the common receptacle of all freebooters. They urged upon him, not less from considerations of humanity than of political prudence, the duty of exterminating that lawless race, the implacable enemies of the Christian name.

A. D. 1541. Charles, who was at war with the Sultan as well as the King of France, would have found ample employment for his troops on the banks of the Danube, as well as in the Low Countries, always menaced by his active enemy. But, in opposition to the judgment of some of his wisest counsellors, he resolved to chastise the barbarians on the African coast; and with this view had already given orders to prepare a fleet and a large body of land-forces. The season unfortunately was far advanced,

on which account the Pope entreated, and Doria conjured him not to expose his whole armament to a destruction almost unavoidable on a wild shore during the violence of the autumnal gales. Adhering, however, to his plan with determined obstinacy, he embarked at Porto Venere on board the admiral's galley, and soon found that this experienced sailor had not judged wrong concerning the element with which he was so well acquainted. But as his courage was undaunted, and his temper often inflexible, the danger to which he was exposed had no other effect than to confirm him in his fatal resolution. The force, indeed, which he had collected, was such as might have inspired a prince less adventurous, and less confident in his own schemes, with the most sanguine hopes of success. It consisted of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, mostly veterans, together with 3000 volunteers, the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility, who were desirous of paying court to the emperor, by attending him in his favourite expedition, and eager to share in the glory which they believed was about to crown his arms. Besides these, there had joined his standard a thousand soldiers sent by the Order of St John, and led by a hundred of its most valiant knights.

Landing near Algiers without opposition, Charles immediately advanced towards the town. To oppose the invaders, Hassan had only 800 Turks, and 5000 Moors, partly natives of Africa, and partly refugees from Spain. When summoned to surrender, he, nevertheless, returned a fierce and haughty answer.* But with such a handful of troops, neither his desperate courage nor consummate skill in war could have long resisted forces superior to those

which had formerly defeated Barbarossa at the head of 60,000 men, and reduced Tunis in spite of all his efforts to save it. The renegade, however, found in a physical event an auxiliary which more than counterbalanced the inequality of the contending armies ; while his antagonist saw himself exposed to a dreadful calamity, against which human prudence and exertion could avail nothing. On the second day after his debarkation, and before he had time for any thing more than to disperse some Arabs who molested his soldiers on their march, the clouds were seen to gather, and the heavens assumed a threatening aspect. Towards evening rain began to fall, accompanied with a violent wind ; and the rage of the tempest increasing during the night, the men, who had brought nothing ashore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury, without tents or cover of any kind. The ground was soon so wet that they could not lie down on it ; their camp, being in a low situation, was overflowed with water, and they sank at every step to the ankles in mud ; while the hurricane augmented to such a degree that, to prevent themselves from being blown down, they were obliged to thrust their spears into the earth, and lay hold of them as a support. Hassan was too vigilant an officer to allow so favourable an opportunity to escape for attacking his enemy to advantage. At the dawn of day he sallied out at the head of his warriors, who, having been screened from the storm under their own roofs, were fresh and vigorous ; whereas a body of Italians, who were stationed nearest the city, dispirited and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of his Turks. The troops at the next post showed indeed greater courage ; but, as the

rain had rendered their muskets useless, and having scarcely strength to handle their other arms, they were soon thrown into confusion. Almost the whole army, with the emperor himself in person, was obliged to advance before the barbarians could be repulsed; who, after spreading such general consternation, and killing a considerable number of men, retired at last in good order.

But all feeling of this disaster was soon obliterated by a more affecting spectacle. As the tempest continued with unabated violence, the full light of day showed the ships, on which alone their safety depended, driving from their anchors, dashing against one another, and many of them forced on the rocks, or sinking in the waters. In less than an hour, fifteen ships of war and 140 transports, with 8000 men, perished before their eyes; and such of the unhappy sailors as escaped the fury of the sea, were murdered by the Arabs as soon as they reached land. Charles stood in silent anguish and astonishment, witnessing this miserable scene, which at once blasted all his hopes of success, and buried in the waves the vast stores he had provided, as well for the subsistence of his troops as the conquest of the country. At length the approach of evening covered the face of the deep with darkness; and as it was impossible for the officers aboard the squadron to send any intelligence to their companions who were ashore, these last past the night in all the anguish of suspense and apprehension. Next morning, a boat despatched by Doria reached the land with information that, having survived the storm, to which during fifty years of a seaman's life he had never known any equal in fierceness and horror, he had

found it necessary to bear away with his shattered vessels to Cape Matafuz. He advised the emperor, as the sky was still tempestuous, to march with all speed to that place, where the army could re-embark with greater ease.

This intelligence, though gratifying, did not fail to involve Charles in other cares. The point named by the admiral was at least three days' march from his present position; all his provisions were consumed; his men, worn out with fatigue, were hardly equal to such a movement, even in a friendly country; and being dispirited by a succession of hardships, they were in no condition to undergo new toils. But, as there was no time for deliberation, the camp was instantly broken up; and then the sad effects of what they had suffered began to appear in a stronger light, and deeper calamities were about to be added to those which they had already endured. Some could hardly bear the weight of their arms; others, unable to force their way through deep roads, sank down and died; many perished by famine, as the whole army subsisted chiefly on roots and berries, or on the flesh of horses, killed for that purpose by the emperor's orders; numbers were drowned in the swollen brooks; and not a few were slain by the enemy, who, during the greatest part of the retreat, harassed them day and night. When they arrived at Matafuz, the weather was so much improved as to allow a renewal of the communication with the fleet, whence they were supplied with provisions, and animated with the prospect of returning in safety to Europe. But in cherishing this hope they were only preparing for themselves a deeper disappointment; for no sooner were they on board

than, a new storm arising, the ships were scattered, and compelled to take refuge in the nearest ports of Italy or Spain. The emperor himself was driven back to the African coast, where he was obliged by contrary winds to remain several weeks; and at last he reached his own dominions in a condition very different from that in which he finished his triumphant expedition against Tunis.

It was remarked that, during these severe disasters, his fortitude and magnanimity never forsook him. He endured as great hardships as the meanest soldier; exposed his person to all dangers; visited the sick and wounded; and encouraged every one by his words and example. When the army embarked, he was among the last who left the shore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great distance ready to fall on his rear. By these virtues he atoned in some measure for his obstinacy and presumption, in undertaking an expedition at once so fatal and so mortifying to his subjects.*

These hostilities, pursued by Charles, had indeed their origin at a still earlier period. When, at the end of the fifteenth century, the Moors were expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, the fears and hatred of the Christians followed them to their new abode on the opposite shores. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that period directed the councils of his royal master, prevailed on him to fit out an armament, in order to prevent the vindictive Mussulmans from acquiring such a degree of strength as might render them formidable to the united kingdom of Castile and Arragon. A fleet, carrying 5000 soldiers, proceeded from the harbour of Malaga in

* Reign of Charles V. vol. iii. p. 223.

the month of August 1504, and landing near the fort of Marsa-Kebir, the "Portus Magnus" of the Romans, took possession of it with little loss. About five years afterwards, the cardinal himself, whose zeal never cooled, assumed the direction of a powerful armament, the object of which was to reduce Oran, a town not more than a league distant from the seaport just described. This enterprise was likewise crowned with complete success; upon which the most reverend prelate committed the care of the expedition to Don Pedro de Navarro, the general-in-chief, after instructing him to extend his conquests over the whole of the adjacent country.

The Spanish commander, upon reducing several places in the neighbourhood, shaped his course towards Bujeya, which fell to him without making any resistance. The surrender of this stronghold, which the Moors and Arabs deemed impregnable, was followed by the submission of all the others along the coast; the rulers of which sent deputies to the victor to solicit peace, expressing their readiness to receive his soldiers in name of garrison, and even to become tributary to the crown of Castile. Algiers, which was then of no great importance, was the first to open its gates; and it was at this conjuncture that the troops of Ferdinand built the fortress on the small rocky isle at the mouth of its harbour, which has since been enlarged into those magnificent defences wherein the piratical inhabitants have, during two centuries, reposed their confidence. But the Moors soon became impatient of the heavy yoke imposed on them by their bigoted conquerors. They seized the first opportunity to revolt, with the view of chasing from their towns the infidel invaders; in the course of which effort

they adopted the impolitic resolution of asking the aid of Barbarossa, who, as we have seen, terminated his alliance by subjecting them to the government of his patron the Grand Turk.

The Spaniards, though driven from the open country, still kept possession of Oran and other fortified stations on the coast, which they retained till the year 1708, when the Algerines, taking advantage of the weakness entailed upon their enemies by the Succession War, succeeded in expelling the Christian garrisons. In 1762, Philip V. sent the Count of Montemar, at the head of an army of 30,000 men, who beat the Moors, the Arabs, and the Turks, united, and once more established the authority of his sovereign in Oran and along the contiguous shore. This conquest was maintained down to the year 1790, when the place was entirely destroyed by an earthquake. On this melancholy occurrence, Charles IV., unwilling to incur the expense of rebuilding it, gave orders to evacuate the ruins; having previously concluded a treaty with the dey, in virtue of which he ceded it to his highness, as well as the artillery and military stores, the greater part of which had been saved. Since that period, the Europeans have had no establishment on the coast of Barbary, but with the consent of the sovereign of Algiers and the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli.

We find in a periodical work, a notice of another expedition made by Spain for the chastisement or recovery of Algiers. In 1775, General O'Reilly is said to have landed near that receptacle of freebooters, but was compelled to re-embark in haste and with considerable loss.*

* Penny Cyclopædia, vol. i. p. 329.

The French, though at a different period, were no less active than the Spaniards in their attempts to suppress the Barbary corsairs. In 1617, M. Beaulieu was sent against the Algerines with a squadron of fifty men-of-war, who defeated their fleet and took two of their vessels, while their admiral sunk his own ship and crew rather than fall into his enemies' hands. By such decisive measures Louis XIII. obtained permission to build a fort on their coasts in place of the one formerly occupied by the Marsilians, which the natives had demolished. This, after some difficulty, he accomplished, and it was called the *Bastion of France;* but the situation being afterwards found inconvenient, the French purchased the fort of La Cala, and obtained liberty to trade with the Arabs and Moors.

Enriched with the booty acquired in their piratical expeditions, and inspirited by their occasional success over the fleets of the greatest nations of Europe, the chiefs of Algiers, though they consented to make terms with England, France, and Holland, swore eternal war against the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians, whom they regarded as the most determined enemies of the Mohammedan name. At length, Louis XIV., provoked by the outrages they committed on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc, sent Admiral Duquesne, in 1682, at the head of a considerable force, to chastise the robbers and release the captives who had fallen into their hands. These orders were executed with so much vigour, that the town, assailed by cannon and bombs, was soon enveloped in flames; the great mosque was battered down, and most of the houses were laid in ruins. A sudden change of wind prevented him

from fully accomplishing his purpose; and it was not till the summer of the following year that he poured upon the devoted inhabitants the vengeance of an incensed and injured kingdom. Sending showers of bombs into the city several successive days and nights, he created so much devastation that the army and all ranks of the state sued for peace. The preliminary conditions were, the surrender of all Christian slaves taken under the French flag, and the delivery of certain hostages to secure a due fulfilment of the treaty; which latter stipulation, as it seemed to involve the fate of two high officers, led to a revolution in the government, the murder of the dey, and the renewal of hostilities with greater fury than ever.

Duquesne, enraged at this breach of faith, continued to pour in such volleys of shells that, in less than three days, the greater part of the city was reduced to ashes; and the fire burnt with such vehemence, that the sea was illumined by it more than two leagues around. The new dey, unmoved at these disasters, breathed only revenge; and after having put to death all the French who happened to be in his power, he ordered their consul to be tied hand and foot and fastened alive to the mouth of a large cannon, whence he was shot away and blown to atoms. By this piece of inhumanity the admiral was so exasperated, that he did not leave Algiers until he had utterly destroyed its fortifications, shipping, arsenals, and stores, and reduced nearly the whole of its buildings to a mass of rubbish.*

* Encyclopædia Britannica, seventh edition, article Algiers.

All the powers of Europe, indeed, who had ships at sea, found it necessary from time to time to interpose for the protection of their trade and the honour of their flag. The Dutch, for example, after several bloody combats, consented to pay a sum of money, and thereby purchase for their national colours a show of respect, and for their merchantmen an exemption from plunder. The Danes and Swedes, too, despairing of success by compulsory means, adopted a similar policy. The Austrians and Russians, on the other hand, were protected by the special authority of the Porte, who had bound himself to that effect by positive treaties. The Americans, about twenty years ago, checked by a vigorous attack the lawless exactions of the Algerine power. Having lost in battle a frigate and a brig, the dey acceded to a pacification, by which he consented to renounce all tribute, and to pay to the victors 60,000 dollars as a compensation for the ships his cruisers had robbed or otherwise injured. The Italian States have all along been the severest sufferers from the Barbary corsairs, because, while they have had a great number of small vessels employed in their coasting-trade, they possessed no navy of sufficient strength to repress the depredations to which they were exposed.

In 1620, a squadron of English men-of-war was sent against Algiers, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel; but of this expedition we have no other account than that it returned without effecting any thing important. It has been already stated that, during the vigorous government of the Commonwealth, the gallant Blake inflicted a severe castigation on the Tunisians, and at the same time taught the marauding subjects of the dey to dread

the power of England. During more than a century, no events occur which might illustrate the tone of feeling that subsisted between the Barbary States and our government. The losses sustained by the Algerines during the repeated attacks by Duquesne, in 1682 and the following year, had so far brought them to reason, that they consented to enter into a treaty advantageous and honourable to the government of James the Second. But, notwithstanding their desire for peace with a nation now become so formidable at sea, they lost no opportunity of making prizes of all such British ships as they could conveniently reach. Upon some outrage of this kind, Captain Beach, in 1695, drove ashore and burnt seven of their frigates,—an act of vigour which produced a renewal of negotiation, and extorted a promise of various concessions. It was not, however, till the British had taken Gibraltar and Port Mahon, that they could exercise such a check upon the pirates as to enforce the observation of treaties; and since that period they have generally shown a greater deference to our wishes than to those of any other European power. The French, who, by mingled force and flattery, had acquired an ascendency at the Algerine court, connived at the ravages committed on the commerce of the less warlike nations; aware that the carrying-trade must necessarily be secured for the merchants of those kingdoms whose ships were in no danger of being detained or pillaged by the maritime robbers. This paltry consideration, there is no doubt, induced some of the more powerful monarchies of Europe, not only to tolerate the African corsairs, but even to supply them with arms and ammunition, to solicit their passes, and to pur-

chase their forbearance by annual presents, which were in effect nothing different from disguised tribute. All the condescension, however, of those who disgraced themselves with the title of allies to these miscreants, was not sufficient to restrain their privateers from acts of cruelty and rapine.

In the year 1748, four cruisers from Algiers captured an English packet-boat, on her voyage from Lisbon, and conveyed her into port, where she was plundered of money and effects to the amount of at least £100,000. Incensed at this outrage, the British ministry despatched Commodore Keppel with seven ships of war to demand satisfaction, as well as to compromise certain differences which had arisen between his majesty and the dey, relative to some arrears of payment claimed by the latter. His highness frankly owned that the money seized in the prize had been divided among the captors, and could not possibly be refunded. Keppel returned to Gibraltar; and, in the sequel, an Algerine ambassador arrived at London with a present of some wild beasts for George the Second. This transaction was soon succeeded by one still more disgraceful. Mr Latton, a commissioner sent to redeem English captives, was grossly insulted by the Governor of Tetuan, because he would not consent to pay a sum for which he was not accountable. His house was surrounded by soldiers, who dragged his secretary from his presence, and threw him into a dungeon; the Christian slaves were condemned to the same fate; the ambassador himself was degraded from his character, deprived of his allowance, and sequestered from all communication. And yet, after these numerous indignities offered to the honour of the British nation, the balance de-

manded by the Turk was duly paid, and the affair quietly adjusted.*

As the naval power of Britain increased, the ravages of the Barbary corsairs became less frequent and atrocious. They no longer domineered over the high seas, nor attempted to annoy the vessels belonging to the greater nations; nor did the latter deign to purchase immunity by the continuance of a disgraceful tribute. The Algerines more prudently selected for their prey the small kingdoms of the Sicilies and Sardinia; making descents upon their coasts; carrying off all kinds of property, and even such of the inhabitants of both sexes as might seem most suitable for the slave-market. At the Congress of Vienna, accordingly, it became a subject of deliberation what means should be adopted to put a final stop to these enormities, and to secure protection to the Italian shores, which had suffered so much from the barbarian invaders. The return of Bonaparte from Elba prevented the arrangement of measures for accomplishing this desirable object; but no sooner was the peace of Europe again restored, than the British government, in conjunction with the Dutch, resolved to give efficacy to the wishes of their allies. Lord Exmouth and Sir Thomas Maitland, invested with the command of separate squadrons, were sent to Tunis to demand the restitution of all the captives actually in bondage, and the relinquishment for ever of those piratical practices, which were so justly condemned by the European sovereigns. In this mission the gallant commanders succeeded, and were gratified not only by the liberation of the unfortunate persons who had already fallen

* History of England, vol. xi. p. 274. Edition 1812.

into the hands of the rovers, but also with the assurance that nothing more than the sanction of the Porte was required in order to abolish Christian slavery in all future times.

These concessions enraged the Algerines, who instantly began to strengthen their fortifications, as if they had determined to resist the combined force of all the maritime states, and pursue their violent system on a larger scale. The soldiery, in their blind rage, had recourse to an outrage of the most execrable nature. A number of vessels, belonging to Naples and the neighbouring ports, had been in the practice of assembling at Bona to carry on the pearl-fishery, in which, upon payment of an annual tribute, they were protected by the dey. Suddenly these peaceful and industrious seamen were surrounded by a band of Moors, who commenced an indiscriminate massacre, which could not be justified on any ground or pretence, and seems to have had no object but to show their implacable hatred to the Christian name.*

This cruel insult called forth the fleets of England and Holland, and led to the memorable attack by Lord Exmouth in August 1816. Sailing with five ships of the line and eight smaller vessels, he was joined at Gibraltar by Admiral Capellen with six Dutch frigates. An attempt was made to withdraw the British consul and his family from the danger and embarrassment in which they could not fail to be placed during an assault on the town; but the efforts of Captain Dashwood, who was intrusted with this important service, could accomplish nothing besides the removal of two ladies, the wife and

* Encyclopædia Brit., article Algiers, p. 510.

daughter of our resident, in the disguise of naval officers.

It was not till the 26th of the month that his lordship appeared before Algiers, when he sent to the dey a flag of truce, conveying to his highness the conditions on which alone the meditated attack might be averted. He insisted on the final abolition of Christian slavery; the immediate freedom of all slaves within the territory of Algiers; the repayment of every ransom paid for the redemption of captives by the Kings of Sicily and Sardinia; the liberation of the consul and all other British subjects now in confinement; and, lastly, peace with the King of the Netherlands. Two hours were allowed to return an answer; and in the mean time, as a favourable breeze sprang up, Lord Exmouth moved forward his ships till he found himself within a mile of the batteries, where he remained prepared for action.

The period allowed for deliberation having elapsed, the admiral's ship passed through all the enemy's batteries without firing a gun, and, to the astonishment of the natives, took up a position within less than 100 yards of the mole; upon which, says M. Salamé, the interpreter, we gave them three cheers: "The batteries as well as the walls being crowded with troops, they jumped upon the top of the parapets to look at us; for our broadside was higher than their batteries; and they were quite surprised to see a three-decker with the rest of the fleet so close to them. From what I observed of the captain of the port's manner, and of their confusion inside of the mole, I am quite sure that even they themselves did not know what they were about, nor what we meant to do; because, according to their

judgment, they thought that we should be terrified by their fortifications, and not advance so rapidly and closely to the attack. In proof of this, I must observe that, at this point, their guns were not even loaded; and they began to load them after the Queen Charlotte and almost all the fleet had passed their batteries. At a few minutes before three, the Algerines, from the Eastern Battery, fired the first shot at the Impregnable, which with the Superb and the Albion was astern of the other ships, to prevent them from coming in. Then Lord Exmouth, having seen only the smoke of the gun, before the sound reached him, said with great alacrity, 'That will do; fire, my fine fellows!' and I am sure, that before his lordship had finished these words, our broadside was given with great cheering, and, at the same time, the other ships did the same. The first fire was so terrible, that, they say, more than 500 persons were killed or wounded by it; and I believe this, because there was a great crowd of people in every part, many of whom, after the first discharge, I saw running away, like dogs, walking upon their hands and feet." The conflict continued with unabated fury on both sides not less than five hours; at the end of which time, the Algerines beginning to lose strength or courage, the vivacity of their fire appeared evidently to diminish. At eleven o'clock, his lordship having observed the destruction of their whole navy and the strongest part of their works, made a signal to the fleet to move out of the line of the batteries; "and thus, with a favourable breeze, we cut our cables, as did the whole squadron, and made sail at about half-past eleven. At this time their navy, with the storehouses within the mole,

were burning very rapidly. The blaze illumined all the bay, with the town and the environs; the view of which was really most awful and beautiful; nine frigates and a great number of gunboats, with other vessels, being all in flames, and carried by the wind in different directions."*

Next morning, the British admiral renewed the offer of peace, when the terms originally proposed were readily accepted. By virtue of this treaty, 1211 slaves were released, in addition to about 1800 liberated during the former expedition to the coast of Barbary. The dey, whose obstinacy occasioned this great loss of life and property, did not long survive the negotiation, in which he was compelled to surrender nearly all that the Algerines had been accustomed to value. He was taken from his throne, precipitated from one of the windows of the palace into the court-yard, where, according to custom, he was immediately despatched.

The castigation inflicted by Lord Exmouth, severe as it was, did not long restrain the freebooters within the bounds of moderation. No effort was spared to place the city in a more formidable state of defence than ever; and they soon considered themselves again in a condition to set even the great powers at defiance. The trade of the French was first interrupted, and when their consul ventured to remonstrate on the subject, he was answered by reproaches and the most galling insults. Charles X. then declared war, and sent a number of ships against Algiers; but the fortifications on the seaside were found so strong that his admiral was obliged to confine himself to an ineffectual blockade.

* Salamé, Expedition to Algiers, p. 37, &c.

At length it was resolved to adopt more energetic measures; and a large fleet under Duperre, with a land-force amounting to upwards of 30,000 men, under General Bourmont, sailed from Marseilles in May 1830. On the 14th June, the troops began to debark in the bay of Torre Chica, and were only partially interrupted by a few light-horse who approached the beach, and by the fire of some batteries erected in the neighbourhood. It should seem that the Turks, confident in their numbers or the strength of their position, allowed the invaders to land, and even to carry ashore their artillery, provisions, and stores. Five days elapsed before they took the field against Bourmont, having perhaps spent the interval in assembling the various contingents from Oran, Constantina, and Titteri. On the 19th, they commenced an attack on the French, with a force estimated at 50,000, chiefly horsemen, who charged with such impetuosity, that they penetrated the enemy's line at several points; nor was it until after a very obstinate conflict that they began their retreat, which, as usual, ended in a complete rout.

But, though repulsed, they had no intention to abandon their country to the Christians without a farther struggle. They accordingly renewed their assault upon the French camp, day after day, until some severe checks, and a conviction of their inferiority as soldiers, compelled them to fall back towards the Desert. Bourmont now advanced to the city, which, after a smart bombardment, yielded at discretion. Twelve ships of war, 1500 brass cannon, with a large sum of money, came into the hands of the conquerors; and on the 5th July, their flag waved on all the forts. The Turkish troops were permit-

ted to go wherever they pleased, provided they should leave Algiers; most of whom desired to be landed in Asia Minor. The dey, in the first instance, chose Naples for the place of his retirement; and, it is well known, he enjoyed repose, and even some degree of consideration, till the day of his death.

The success of this bold measure has, in the mean time, relieved the Mediterranean from the dread of piracy, and the European shores from the horrors which always accompanied the inroads of the merciless Moors. But it must be doubtful whether the conquest, in any other respect, will gratify the nation whose arms achieved it. The climate is, indeed, good, the soil rich, and the situation at once romantic and delightful; but the inhabitants of the adjacent country are destitute of honour, regardless of treaties, strangers to the refined enjoyments of social life, addicted to plunder, and accustomed to consider war as their profession. M. Rozet acknowledges, that in their hostilities with the Bedouins, the regular troops of France, so far from gaining any ultimate advantage, must be content with a temporary triumph; for, as soon as the Arab horsemen attain the border of the Sahara, they can set at defiance the best hussars of Europe. Hence we cannot be surprised to learn, that the conquerors of Algiers are confined to the walls of most of the towns which they occupy; that they cannot venture to take possession of the lands; and that the hope of a prosperous colonization of Northern Africa becomes daily less encouraging. The great expense, moreover, incident to the military establishment still necessary for the primary object of the expedition, presses upon the government of Louis Philippe, who, it would appear, has

already listened to several proposals for withdrawing his troops.

The actual state of Algiers is well illustrated by the officer just named, who made part of the expedition, and afterwards resided sixteen months in the regency. His account of the town, both as to its external appearance and its interior arrangements, agrees in substance with those already given; confirming, in every particular, the striking contrast between the view obtained of it from the sea, and the entire want of architectural ornament and even of convenience within. The brilliant aspect which it exhibits at a distance, with its white-washed roofs, reminded him of an open chalk-quarry on the side of a hill; but when he entered the gates, he found that the breadth of its main street does not exceed nine feet, one-half of which is occupied by the projection of the houses. This alley opens into another called Bab el Ouad, which penetrates the whole length of the city from south to north, and is in some places so narrow that a loaded mule fills it from side to side. It is, however, remarkable for one of those fountains or public wells which are seen in every lane of Algiers, and prove the source of much comfort as well as health to the inhabitants. The following cut affords a good representation of the one which adorns the street we are now describing.*

From the same account, we find that the strength of the Mole-battery has not been over-rated by former writers. When the French entered the bay, they

* "Dans chaque rue on trouve plusieurs fontaines alimentées par des aquéducs: ses fontaines sont formées par un enfoncement dans le mur, que termine un cintre ou une ogive composée de la réunion de deux arcs de cercle, et toujours ornées de desseins arabesque parfaitement scúlptés."—Rozet, vol. iii. p. 17.



Gate and Fountain of Bab el Ouad.

observed on that fortification alone not fewer than 237 pieces of cannon, forming five tiers, one above another, the first of which carried guns varying from thirty-six to ninety-six pounders. They were placed in vaulted casements, bomb proof, the walls of which, constructed of hewn stone, were about ten feet thick.

Speaking of Algiers as it was before the reduction of it by General Bourmont, we may remark that the government was entirely despotic, and that the dey had the power of life and death over all his subjects. There was no law but his own will, and this was always executed with an astonishing degree of promptitude. In the year 1830, when the soldiers

of Charles X. drove from his throne this deputy of the grand seignior, they discovered that the whole authority of the state was in his hands; that he rewarded and punished at his discretion; disposed of all employments; and made peace or proclaimed war without being obliged to give an account of his conduct to any one. He had nothing to fear but the sanguinary revolts of his janizaries, who, when they chose to become dissatisfied with their sovereign, flew to arms, surrounded his palace, put him to death, and nominated his successor from their own ranks.

We have already suggested that the regency was divided into four provinces, three of which were immediately governed by beys, namely, Constantina, Titteri, and Oran. Each of these local rulers had a guard, consisting of a few hundreds of Turkish soldiers, who had their head-quarters in his capital, and accompanied him in all his expeditions.

As the administration had long assumed a military character, every man, on certain emergencies, was bound to be a soldier; but the Ottoman militia, or janizaries, formed the regular army, to whom was added a corps of koulouglis,—the offspring of Turks and Christian slaves,—into which were sometimes admitted a contingent of Moors. This militia has by some authors been rated as high as 15,000, by others at 8000; but Rozet remarks, that when the French took Algiers, they found not more than from 2000 to 3000 capable of bearing arms. The cavalry, the strength of which varied according to circumstances, was composed of Berbers and Arabs, to whom there were granted certain advantages, in order to secure a continuance of their services. It

is allowed by the staff-officer, on whose authority we now proceed, that the Turks were brave and generous in battle; and that, after victory, they never put their hands to plunder, but left the spoil of the field to be gathered by the Moors and their slaves.*

The navy of the dey, although the terror of Europe, was at no time very considerable. The French found only one large frigate on the stocks, two in the harbour, two corvettes, eight or ten brigs, and about thirty-two armed sloops. For some years the whole marine had belonged to his highness, the privilege of arming on their own account having been withdrawn from private individuals, except in the case of very small vessels, which were permitted to carry on a coasting-trade and use weapons for their own defence.

The revenue of Algiers, if restricted to the usual resources of the country, did not exceed £130,000. When General Bourmont took possession of the dey's palace, certain records were discovered, which enabled M. Gerardin, appointed "director of the domains," and M. Fougeron, inspector of finances, to ascertain the precise sum which each province or government contributed to the expenses of the state. Oran and Constantina paid 1,401,213 francs annually, and it is supposed that the receipts from the other districts might increase the sum to three millions,—a small return from a country 500 or 600 miles in length, and 150 in breadth. To these regular funds, however, must be added the occasional payments made by foreign crowns, the value of the numerous prizes taken by the corsairs, and the presents offered by a variety of functionaries which had long ceased

* Voyage dans la Regence d'Alger, vol. iii. p. 267.

to be voluntary. Still it cannot fail to appear surprising, that the treasury of the dey should have contained, when it fell into the hands of the captors, not less than fifty millions of francs in gold and silver. Considering the immense fortifications which he erected, not only at the capital, but along a coast of more than thirty miles in extent, we naturally come to the conclusion formed by M. Rozet, that piracy must have furnished to him larger sums than he drew from all the lands under his acknowledged sway.*

The wars which have been occasionally waged between Algiers and Tunis, do not reflect much honour either upon the courage or fidelity of the native troops. In the spring of the year 1807, the armies of these neighbouring states, to decide some national quarrel, took the field, amounting on either side to about 30,000 men. The Tunisians, who advanced towards the west with the view of reducing Constantina, were, upon the first appearance of their enemies, seized with a sudden panic, and fled with such precipitation that the Algerines, without trouble or danger, took entire possession of their camp, baggage, and 15,000 camels laden with provisions. Many of the fugitives reached their capital without once stopping or daring to look back; and numerous horsemen rode their animals with such speed, that they fell down dead under them.

In a few months the bey was ready to renew the campaign, eager to recover the reputation he had lost, and to accomplish the important object which had called him to arms. But his followers had not in the interval acquired any higher military quali-

* Rozet, vol. iii. p. 387.

ties, nor greater confidence in their own prowess. A watering-party, who happened to come in sight of a detachment from the opposite camp, fell back in such confusion, that they carried terror into the main body, who, in their turn, prepared for flight. The cavalry were already off, and the infantry were about to imitate their example, while the commanding-officer, enveloped in a cloud of sand, knew not whether the masses of troops which moved around him in all directions were friends or foes. A Greek slave who had charge of the artillery, perceived in the confusion that the Algerines were advancing to complete their destruction; upon which, without any orders, he applied a match to one of the pieces pointed against the suspected squadrons, and killed the horse of a chief. The assailants, terrified at this accident, turned their backs and galloped towards their tents,—a movement which the Tunisian cavalry no sooner observed, than they recovered from their fears and began a vigorous pursuit.

The following morning both armies assumed their weapons, and formed themselves in line of battle on the opposite banks of a small river; and now, a kind of irregular fight commenced, which continued till sunset without any serious injury being sustained on either side. When the shades of evening began to thicken, the Algerines fired a cannon without ball,—a signal perfectly understood among these heroes, that they were willing to suspend the strife till next day. Both paused, in the most accommodating manner, and made instant arrangements for food and repose; but the sentries who watched the camp of the dey, observing on the neighbouring hills a detachment of cavalry, gave the alarm to their compa-

nions, and in an instant terror and confusion spread through their lines. The warriors of Algiers, who had gained so many laurels in the month of March, consented to lose them all in July. They fled with precipitation during the night, leaving to the unconscious victors the whole of their stores, provisions, and camels, together with twenty field-pieces and four mortars. Contented with their acquisitions, so easily attained, the soldiers of the bey deemed it inexpedient to hazard their riches and renown by advancing upon Constantina, although the gates of that town were already thrown open to them. They more prudently resolved to return to Tunis, where, amid the acclamations of the citizens, they might enjoy the fruits of their valour, and cultivate all the warlike virtues. It will not excite wonder, that in these engagements very few men were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; for the combatants were drawn out to menace each other rather than to fight; while the distance at which they used their arms rendered their encounter comparatively harmless.*

It would afford neither entertainment nor instruction, were we to narrate the unimportant events which have occasionally arisen from the mutual jealousy of these states, and from the repeated attempts made by successive deys to acquire an ascendency over Tunis. We shall therefore proceed to describe the chief cities in the several provinces of Algiers, beginning with the government of Constantina.

Entering this territory from the east, our attention is first drawn to Bona, the Hippo Regius of the

* Account of Tunis, p. 45. See also Pananti's Narrative, p. 335, &c.

Romans, and the episcopal see of the celebrated Augustine. The modern town is about a mile nearer the shore than the ancient one, and stands on ground which appears to have been once covered by the waves. The ruins of the latter are spread over a neck of land which lies between two rivers, about a mile and a half in circuit, and presenting the usual features of broken walls and cisterns. It had the epithet of Regius attached to it, not only to distinguish it from Hippo Zaritus, but from its being one of the royal residences of the Numidian kings. Dr Shaw relates, that a large quantity of corn, wool, hides, and wax, is every year shipped off from this place, which, by proper care and encouragement, might be made the most flourishing city in Barbary; while by removing the rubbish, repairing the old buildings, and introducing a supply of water, it would certainly be rendered one of the most convenient and delightful.

We have passed by Tabarca, the ancient Thabraca, because it presents nothing of which the description could interest the reader. Between this position and Bona, there is the settlement of La Cala, where, as already noticed, the French had a large coral-fishery and a regular fort. The town, which bears the same name, is walled round, and has three gates; the main street, which is well paved, divides the peninsula longitudinally, and is about sixty feet wide. The buildings on each side consist of a church, a governor's house, private dwellings, granaries, guardhouse, and barracks. When France possessed it, the garrison usually amounted to 500 men. In 1806, the British government contracted with the Dey of Algiers for the occupation of La Cala, Bona, and Cool, stipulating to pay the annual sum

of 50,000 dollars; it being supposed that the coral-fishery alone would reimburse a great proportion of the yearly expenditure. The violation of this treaty by his highness, and the massacre of the fishermen, led, as we have already noticed, to the bombardment of his capital under the direction of Lord Exmouth. At the present moment, this part of the coast is subject to the military authorities who represent Louis Philippe in Northern Africa.

Constantina, the ancient Cirta, is the principal city in the eastern province, and still attests by its ruins its former greatness. It is said to stand thirty leagues south from Bona, occupying a high hill, or what Shaw rather enigmatically calls a peninsular promontory. The visiter enters from the north over a stupendous Roman bridge, having three rows of lofty arches; and when inside the town, he is every where struck with relics of ancient splendour. Granite pillars, broken friezes, pedestals, and a variety of Greek, Latin, and Runic inscriptions, are frequently observed. Besides the general traces of ruins scattered all over this place, there are still remaining near the centre of the city those capacious cisterns which received the water brought from Physgeah by an aqueduct,—a great part of which continues entire, and "is very sumptuous." There is a gate of a beautiful reddish stone, not inferior to marble well polished; the side-pillars being neatly moulded in pannels. An altar of purely white marble makes part of a neighbouring wall, the only side of it in view presenting a well-shaped chalice in bold relief. The gate towards the south-east is in the same fashion and design, though much smaller, and lies open to a bridge that was built over this part of the valley. 'This,

indeed, was a masterpiece in its kind; the gallery, and the columns of the arches, being adorned with cornices and festoons, ox-heads and garlands. The keystones, likewise, of the arches are covered with sculptured ornaments. Below the gallery, between the two principal arches, there is the figure of a lady treading on two elephants, well executed in high relief. Among the ruins, to the south-west of the bridge, there remains the greater part of a triumphal arch, called Cassir Gowlah, the Castle of the Giant, consisting of three arches. All the mouldings and friezes are curiously embellished with the figures of flowers, battleaxes, and other devices. The Corinthian pilasters, on each side of the grand arch, are panneled like the gates of the city, in a style peculiar to Cirta. The population of this interesting place is said to amount to not less than 30,000 Moors, Jews, and Turks.

About twenty miles to the north-west of Constantina stands Mileu, the Milevum of the ancients, in the centre of a most beautiful group of hills and valleys. It is surrounded with gardens, and plentifully stocked with fountains; one of which, bubbling up in the middle of the town, is received into a large square basin of Roman workmanship. From this fertile district the capital is chiefly supplied with herbs and fruits, which are accounted excellent: the pomegranates, in particular, are of so large a size, and have so delicate a flavour, that they are in great request all over the kingdom.

The whole of this province still retains the most satisfactory tokens that it was long occupied by the Romans. Remarkable ruins may still be seen at Tezzoute, the Lambesa of classical authors, which

cover an area nearly three leagues in circumference. Besides the magnificent fragments of the city-gates, the number of which, according to the tradition of the Arabs, was not less than forty, there are the seats and upper part of an amphitheatre; the front of a beautiful Ionic temple dedicated to Esculapius; a large oblong chamber with a great door on each side of it, intended, perhaps, for a triumphal arch; and the Cupola of the Bride, as the natives denominate a very handsome, though small mausoleum, built in the fashion of a dome, supported by Corinthian pillars. "These," says Dr Shaw, "and several other edifices of the like elegant structure, sufficiently demonstrate the importance and magnificence of this city."*

Proceeding westward we come to Bujeya, or Boojeiah, called by Strabo the port of Salda, and which stands upon a neck of land running out into the sea. It is built upon the ruins of a large city, and displays the remains of extensive walls, basins, and aqueducts, most of which, however, have suffered from the ravages of war. At present, besides the castle on the summit of a hill which commands the whole town, there are two forts at the bottom of it, erected for the security of the harbour; where several breaches may still be observed in the bastions, made by the balls fired against them by Sir Edward Spragge, who attacked it in the year 1671.

Having mentioned the principal places in the government of Constantina, we shall advert very briefly to those of Titteri. In the days of Dr Shaw, this province was considered as being comprehended in the territory of Algiers, having for its

* Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 126.

capital the metropolis of the kingdom; and, even in our times, its small extent seems not to entitle it to the honour of a separate jurisdiction. Bleeda and Medea, the only cities of this district, are each of them about a mile in circuit; but their walls, which are chiefly composed of mud, and perforated every where with hornets, cannot be said to contribute either to their strength or beauty. The houses are in general flat roofed, though some of them are tiled, but have hardly any other accommodation to recommend them as permanent residences besides an abundant supply of water. A branch of an adjacent rivulet may be conducted through every dwelling and garden at Bleeda; while at Medea, the conduits and aqueducts that supply it, some of which appear to be of Roman workmanship, are capable of being so extended as to prove equally commodious.

That part of the Atlas which lies between these towns, and extends as far as Mount Jurjura, is inhabited by numerous hordes of Kabyles, few of whom, confiding in their strong country, have ever been tributary to the Algerines. The mountain just named is the highest in Barbary, and about twenty-four miles in length; having its summit, throughout the winter, covered deeply with snow, and presenting, from the one end to the other, an uninterrupted range of barren peaks and precipices. About fifteen miles southward from Medea, is the "Rock of Titteri," a remarkable ridge, four leagues in extent, and, if possible, even more rugged than Jurjura. Upon the top there is a large piece of level ground, with only one narrow road leading up to it, where, for their greater security, the tribe of Welled Eisa have their granaries. Beyond them are

the encampments of the sons of Innane, the principal Arabs of the district of Titteri, properly so called, which lies only in the neighbourhood of this mountain.

Five leagues to the eastward of the rock now specified is the Burgh Hamza or Castle of Hamza, built from the ruins of the ancient Auzea, now called by the Arabs Sour Guslan, the Walls of the Antelopes. A great part of the old city, fortified at proper distances with small square turrets, is still remaining; the whole of which, it is conjectured, could not exceed six furlongs in circumference. Of this place, once important as a military station, Tacitus has given a very good description; for it was erected upon a small plat of level ground, every where surrounded with bare hills and gloomy forests, inspiring the mind of the traveller with the profoundest melancholy.*

Advancing towards the Sahara, we become acquainted with the names of various clans who feed their flocks on its borders, and of several hills which define their boundaries, or prove a landmark to their scattered dependencies. The most distant, and in some respects the most savage, are the Beni Mezzab, whose chief employment is the slaughter of animals for the markets of Algiers. It has been observed of these sons of Mezzab, that they are in general of a more swarthy complexion than the Getulians, who dwell farther to the north; and, as they are separated from them by a wide inhospitable desert, they may probably be found to be a branch

* Nec multo post adfertur Numidas apud castellum semirutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, cui nomen Auzea, positis mapalibus consedisse fisos quia vastis circum saltibus claudebatur.—Tacit. Annal. lib. iv.

of the Melano-Getuli, or Black Getulians, so little known in the modern systems of geography.*

The province which divides Algiers from Morocco bears the name of Tlemsan, the Moorish corruption of the ancient term Tremezen, and comprehends several towns that, from their historical importance rather than their actual condition, are not undeserving of a short description. The capital, known by the same appellation as the surrounding district, stands upon a rising-ground below a range of precipices stretching from the Atlas Mountains. In the western part of the city there is a large basin, the work of the natives, which receives the numerous rills which trickle down from the elevated land towards the south, affording an ample supply of water for the beautiful gardens and plantations in the neighbourhood. Most of the walls of Tlemsan have been built, or rather moulded, in frames,—a method which was used by the Africans and Spaniards so early as the days of Pliny. The mortar of which they consist is made up of sand, lime, and gravel, and has, by being well tempered, acquired all the strength and durability of stone. The dimensions of these frames can still be determined; some of which must have been 100 yards in length and two yards in height and thickness. About the year 1670, Hassan, the dey of Algiers, laid most of this town in ruins, as a punishment for the disaffection of the inhabitants; so that there is not now remaining above one-sixth of the old metropolis, which, when entire, appears to have been at least four miles in circuit. In the dilapidated parts of the more ancient city are to be seen shafts of pillars and other

* Shaw, vol. i. p. 99.

relics of Roman magnificence; and Dr Shaw observed in the walls of a mosque, constructed of the original materials, a number of altars dedicated to heathen gods.*

Still farther south are discovered, in a variety of situations, the vestiges of Roman towns, which, however, convey no information beyond the simple fact, that a civilized people, powerful in arms, were once masters of the country. The ruins of Arbaal, Memon, El Herba, Maliana, and Aquæ Calidæ Colonia, forcibly recall the descriptions of classical authors. In the vicinity of the station last named, are several tombs and coffins of stone, containing, if the narratives of the inhabitants might be believed, skeletons and armour of a much larger size than could belong to men of modern times. The usages of the Goths and Vandals, who not unfrequently buried the horse and the rider in one grave, may account for the huge bones and long swords still found in that section of Africa, and at the same time illustrate the fine verses of the poet,—

> "Agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro,
> Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila:
> Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
> Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris."
> VIRG. GEORG. lib. i. v. 494.

> "Then, after length of time, the lab'ring swains
> Who turn the turfs of those unhappy plains,
> Shall rusty piles from the plough'd furrows take,
> And over empty helmets pass the rake—
> Amazed at antique titles on the stones,
> And mighty relics of gigantic bones."—DRYDEN.

The country around, possessed by various tribes, presents a succession of exceedingly rugged hills and deep valleys, very difficult and even dangerous to pass over. Yet, says the best of our travellers, this

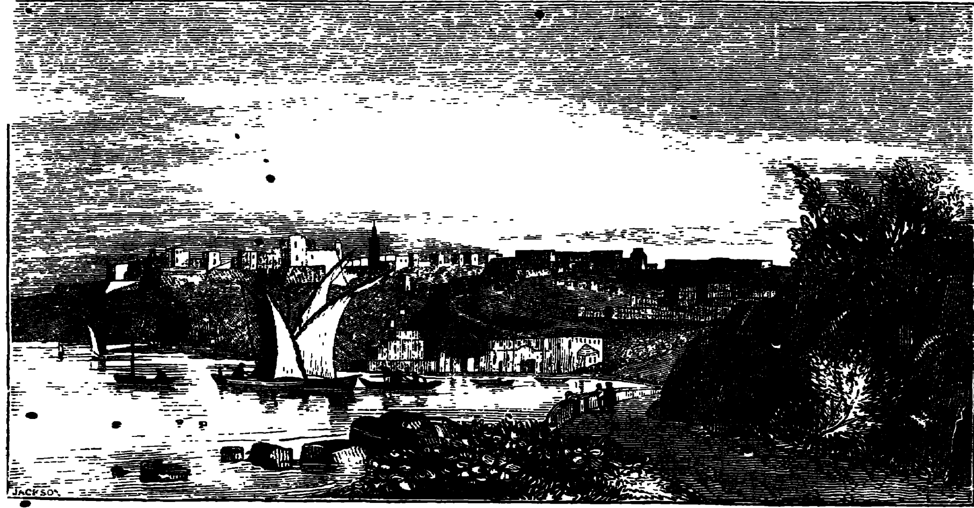
* Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 69.

danger and fatigue are amply compensated by visiting the delightful plains of the Hadjoute and Metijah, which lie beyond them; those of the latter being nearly fifty miles long and twenty broad, and watered in every part by numerous springs and rivulets.*

Ascending to the coast, and turning towards Algiers, we arrive at the celebrated town of Oran, the possession of which was so long contested between the Spaniards and the Moors. It is described as being built upon the declivity, and near the foot of a mountain, which overlooks it from the north and west. On the high ground are two castles, which command the city on the one side, and the Marsa-Kebir on the other; while, on a lower level, are two forts, separated from the houses by a deep winding valley, which serves as a natural trench on the south. Hence it is manifest that this seaport is capable of an easy defence, and might be held by a small European garrison in spite of the utmost exertions of the natives.

This description, given on the authority of Shaw, is confirmed by the details of M. Rozet, who spent some time at Oran after the conquest of Algiers. The town, according to him, occupies two elongated platforms, separated from each other by a steep valley, in which there runs a stream sufficiently strong to turn several mills, and to supply the inhabitants with abundance of water. The annexed view, taken by him on the spot, will assist the imagination of the reader in forming an idea of this remarkable station.

* Shaw, vol. i. p. 51.




View of Oran.

When the French army advanced to take possession of Oran, all the occupants of the town, with the exception of 300 or 400, saved themselves by flight, carrying with them their property, wives, and children. The Jews alone remained, and have proved faithful to their new masters; showing, on various occasions, not less attachment to their cause than military talent in defending it. Rozet conjectures that the population, before this dispersion, must have amounted to between 5000 and 6000, consisting of Moors, Arabs, Negroes, Turks, Jews, and Koulouglis, whose habits, he found, differed little from those of the same classes in Algiers. Before this intelligent officer left the place, many of the Mohammedans had returned to resume their occupations, while the peasantry, finding protection and encouragement, were again venturing to market with their corn, butter, poultry, and eggs. The inhabitants appeared, in his eyes, to deserve the reputation of courage; and having been allowed to retain their arms, they never laid them aside, however they might happen to be employed. The dealers in the shops had muskets by their sides; and the waiters in coffee-houses had a dagger or a pair of pistols suspended to their girdles. But, he adds, they never used them against the French.*

The Spaniards, first time they were in possession of this place, built several beautiful churches and large edifices in the style of the Romans; carrying their imitation so far as to carve upon the friezes and other convenient parts a variety of inscriptions in their own language. But neither at Oran nor

* Voyage dans la Regence d'Alger, tome iii. p. 274. Eh bien! ils ne s'en sont jamais servis contre les Français.

Geeza, a small village about two miles distant from it, are there any antiquities, properly so called; the adjoining country having often changed masters, suffered much from war, and been long in the hands of Europeans, who have remodelled all its structures.

Leaving the village of Carastel and the port of Anze, the traveller in Barbary comes to Mostagan, a town separated from the plain by a circle of hills, and commanding a fine view of the sea. It is larger than Oran, and esteemed next to Tlemsan in point of wealth and consequence. Between Masagran and this city there are numerous gardens, orchards, and country-seats, ranged in beautiful variety all along the shore; the acclivities behind not only sheltering them from the hot scorching winds which sometimes blow in those directions, but also abounding in fountains of water, which refresh and cherish vegetation. The appearance of the walls and other portions of ancient architecture, remove all doubt that it must have been a Roman station of great importance, probably the Cartenna of Pliny and of the geographer Ptolemy.*

The next place of note on the coast is the Jol, or Julia Cæsarea of the Italian historians. The ruins upon which it stood before the earthquake of 1738, were not inferior in extent to those of Carthage; and the judgment which might be thereby formed of its original magnificence was confirmed by the sight of the fine pillars, capitals, capacious cisterns, and beautiful mosaic-pavements, that were every where remaining. The river, now named Hashem, was conducted thither through a grand aqueduct, nearly equal in magnificence and workmanship to

* Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 60, &c.

that of Carthage; several portions of which, scattered among the neighbouring valleys towards the south-east, display in the height and strength of the arches the most incontestable proofs of the grandeur of its design.

As this town was destroyed a few years after it was visited by Dr Shaw, we sought with more eagerness in the pages of M. Rozet for information respecting its present state. We can learn no more, than that it stands upon a little plain between the shore and the foot of the mountains; that the buildings are after the Moorish fashion, and exhibit the turrets of three or four mosques; that the sides of the hills appear well cultivated, having rich fields, pasture-lands, and gardens intermixed; and that the creek which serves for a port is defended by two batteries without guns. The aqueduct he saw only through a telescope, at the distance of four miles, but he was satisfied that it must have had a Roman origin.*

About thirteen miles nearer Algiers are the ruins of Tefessad, the Tepasa of the old geographers, which extend more than half a league along the coast. Both at this place and Shershell are several arches and walls of brick, not commonly seen in other parts of Barbary; and on a large pannelled stone found here is the following inscription, which carries its date beyond the Mohammedan conquest:—

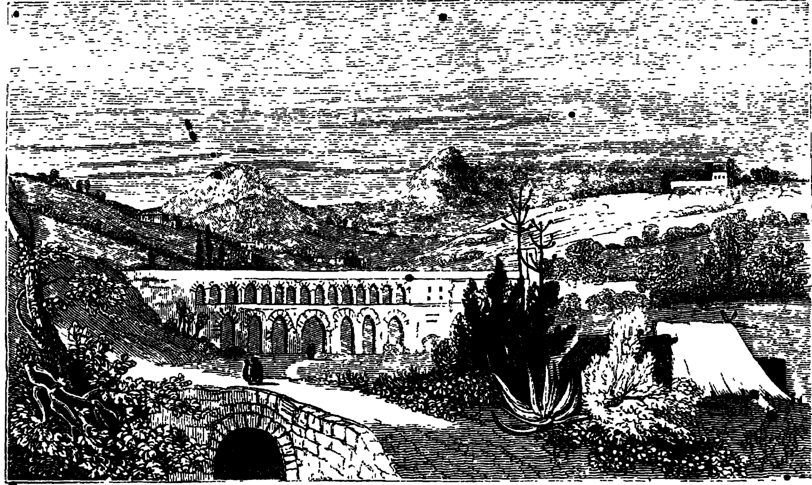
C. CRITICO C. F.
QUIRIT. FELICI.
EX TESTAMENTO EJUS.

From this point to the capital, the breadth of the coast, generally speaking, is seven or eight miles,

* Voyage, &c. tome iii. p. 258.

and is either mountainous or woody; thereby securing the fine plains which lie behind it from the northerly winds and the spray of the sea, both of which prove extremely unfavourable to the more delicate fruits of the earth. Crossing the Massafran, we find ourselves again within the territory of Algiers, the vicinity of which, though pleasant and interesting, does not admit of such a description as would prove suitable to our pages. The recent works of French authors abound with details, than which nothing could be more useful to those who intend to live in the country, or to estimate the chances of a profitable commerce; but, as they are necessarily minute, they would require an extent of space quite inconsistent with our object, and might be found rather embarrassing to the imagination than calculated to enlighten the understanding. We may remark, however, that M. Rozet, in visiting the garden of Mustapha Pasha, in the neighbourhood of the city, observed a superb aqueduct carried across a parched valley, and constructed for the purpose of conveying water to the inhabitants of the town. The architecture is decidedly Moorish, presenting two tiers of arches and other peculiarities which correspond to the taste of the country; but the annexed cut delineates the structure so distinctly as to preclude the necessity of farther description.

In a periodical published at Paris, entitled "Annuaire de l'Etat d'Alger," and which corresponds to our almanacs, there is an interesting account of the country under the French government, including a view of all the institutions,—civil, ecclesiastical, commercial, and military,—by means of which its affairs are transacted. The author, by dividing the south-



Aqueduct of Mustapha Pasha.

ern district into Titteri and the Zaab, increases the number of provinces to five; admitting that his countrymen occupy only three points on the coast,—Algiers, Oran, and Bona,—the first of which commands a territory of about nine miles in extent, while the two latter are confined to their respective walls. The Moors and Arabs, we are assured, are sufficiently disposed to submit to the government of France, because they feel the want of being protected against the inhabitants of the mountains. He therefore recommends that garrisons should be placed in all the seaports; encouragement given to such companies as would undertake the working of mines; that a regular intercourse should be kept up with Europe by the intervention of steam-boats; and, above all, that the laws should be administered with vigour and impartiality. An attempt at colonization has been made in the neighbourhood of Algiers, and two villages have been established at Kouba and Dely-Ibrahim, under the immediate auspices of the ruling authority. The inhabitants, who have been hitherto supported by the state, have received a species of civic organization, and present at least a model of the improved condition to which the whole region may yet attain.

The climate is much more constant than that of France; not being exposed to those sudden changes of temperature which render the latter so variable. When the warm season sets in, the heat continues to increase without interruption; and, at the end of summer, it diminishes in the same gradual manner. This favourable state of the atmosphere, which is enjoyed in the plains eight months of the year, and the moderate warmth of the mountain-districts,

render Northern Africa fit for the culture of a greater number of vegetables than can be raised in France or any other European country. In fact, in the less-heated parts, they can rear the same plants as are cultivated on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, while there is reason to believe that all the productions of more southern, and even of tropical climates, might, in the low grounds near Algiers, be naturalized to the greatest advantage. For the various methods of improvement suggested in the little work from which we quote, and more particularly the scheme for draining the marshes in the great plain of the Metijah, we must refer the reader to an examination of its pages, which he will find full of intelligence and statistical knowledge.*

M. Rozet concludes his work with a statement addressed to all civilized nations, reminding them, that in the year 1830 a French army took Algiers, destroyed the piracy which, during three centuries, had desolated the world, and laid the first foundations of civilisation in Northern Africa; that in order to continue this great work, France requires the aid and concurrence of the other European powers; but that hitherto she has made the appeal in vain, their ears being closed to her voice as well as to that of humanity.†

The sentiments of this writer, in regard to the point now stated, have not been generally approved by his countrymen, who see in the plan he has proposed the seeds of misunderstanding among the occupants of the soil, if drawn from different kingdoms, and the source of a long-continued misery to the unhappy natives. No doubt, the civilisation of

* Annuaire, p. 40-48. † Voyage, tome iii. p. 432.

Northern Africa, undertaken at the common expense of enlightened Europe, is a grand and generous idea; but, if attempted, it would soon be found impracticable; for, whatever may be the mask which philanthropy assumes, self-interest is always at the bottom of such undertakings; and this feeling, which so universally influences individuals, is seldom absent in the calculations even of the most liberal cabinets. The task would no sooner be completed, than the apparent benevolence from which it took its rise would resolve itself into the desire of aggrandizement; and the Barbary States, redeemed from ignorance and despotism by the arms of Christendom, would become the prey of ambition, jealousy, and intrigue.*

Perhaps there might be established with perfect safety at present, and without the hazard of ultimate contention, two great centres of civilisation, the rays of which would in due time extend over the contiguous provinces; one in the Algerine territory, as now occupied by the French, and the other in the Cyrenaica, at Derna or Ptolemeta. The

* Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, Dec. 1833. In an able article by Laurenaudière, in the form of a review of M. Rozet's work, there are some good observations on the expediency and advantages of colonizing Northern Africa. He says,—Il ne s'agit point de civiliser la Barbarie, mais de former un établissement agricole, industriel et commercial dans l'ancienne régence d'Alger.—Soyons assurés qu'avec la persévérance, Arabes et Berbères finiront par se fatiguer d'attaques inutiles, et qu'un jour l'amour du gain les appellera vers nous; s'ils préfèrent à la paix une guerre prolongée, leur perte est certaine.—Comme position militaire, l'occupation d'Alger, de Bonne, de Bougie, et surtout d'Oran est d'une haute importance pour la France. Oran, par ses forts magnifiques, travaux des Espagnols, que nous n'avons rien de mieux à faire que de réparer, par sa belle rade de Mers el Kebir, où cent vaisseaux peuvent être en sûreté, est le seul point maritime important que nous puissions avoir depuis le cap Matifou, jusqu'au détroit de Gibraltar. En cas de guerre maritime, il n'est pas besoin d'insister sur les avantages d'une semblable position.

Great Syrtis would supply the line of demarcation, and mark out the respective scenes in which the policy and arts of an instructed people should again form the basis of knowledge, freedom, and social happiness. The soil and climate in this portion of the globe afford the means of maintaining a vast population, which, for many ages, could not exhaust the sources of affluence and comfort. A growing trade with the regions of the East and the South, would by degrees compensate the sacrifices which might be necessary in the commencement of a colonization so comprehensive, and exposed, at the same time, to the numerous difficulties inseparable from the depravity and ignorance of the actual possessors. To America, as well as to other nations which contemplate the advantages of commerce and of a large maritime force, a commanding position on the shores of the Mediterranean might seem not too dearly purchased at the expense of that protection which all infant settlements require. Every traveller in the eastern section of Northern Africa, struck with the beauty of the scenery, the productive qualities of the land, the agreeable atmosphere, and the numerous local conveniences for intercourse with the wealthiest kingdoms of the European continent, has recommended the project of establishing colonies within the bounds of the ancient Pentapolis.

The experience of France, it is true, has not hitherto proved very encouraging to others who might meditate a similar adventure. But colonization, it must be remembered, was in her case only a secondary motive, and dictated by the necessity of completing the objects for which the great expedition was formed,—the protection of her flag, and the permanent suppression of piracy. The occupation

of Algiers resulted as a consequence obviously arising from the triumph of her arms; and the settlements which she now attempts to form are meant, not only to secure the possessions already gained, but also to render them less burdensome to the national revenue.

From the facts now mentioned, it will not appear surprising that the proceedings of the French government in Africa have not been marked by any regard to system, and have consequently given offence both to the natives and to the European settlers. Law has not yet acquired any dominion in their new conquests; every thing being regulated by proclamations issued from the head-quarters of the general, and which, it is complained, do not always recognise the same principles, nor contribute towards the attainment of the same ends. We have alluded to rumours, occasionally revived, that Louis Philippe has determined to relieve his exchequer of the burden entailed by this colony; but, as some of the most formidable obstacles to complete success have been already removed, it may be presumed that the enterprising spirit of his subjects will encourage and enable him to persevere in an undertaking so essential to the security of all Christian states.*

* The following notice, forwarded to London by the proper authority at Paris, may perhaps be regarded as an indication that there is no serious intention of abandoning their conquest:—

"Notice is hereby given, that, since the 18th November 1834, a *Revolving Light* has been substituted for the old Fixed Light on the Mole of Algiers, continuing throughout the night, and the light disappearing regularly every half-minute."

On the subject of the French expedition, we may refer to the following books recently published:—"Appel en faveur d'Alger, et de l'Afrique du Nord." "Aperçu Historique et Statistique sur la Régence d Alger, &c. par Sidi Hamadan Ben Othman Khoja," and the various numbers of the Annales des Voyages. There is much information, too, in the works of Shaler, Poiret, Hœst, Norberg, Bruns, Langier de Tassy, Renaudot, and Desfontaines.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *Empire of Morocco.*

Boundaries of Morocco—Extent—Divisions—Fertility—Productions—Not fully cultivated—Metallic Treasures, Iron, Copper, Gold, and Silver—Population—History—Aglabites—Edrisites—Fatimites—Zuhites—Hamadians—Abu-Hassians—Abdallah-ben-Jasin—Almoravides—Almohades—Merinites—Oatazi—Shereef Hassan—Various Races of Men—Administration of Justice—Rude Government—Oppression—Court-dress—Arrogance of the Moors—Their patient Endurance—Equality of Rank—Mode of eating—Ceremony of Marriage—Religion—Treatment of Christians and Jews—Revenue—Melilla—Velez—Tetuan—Ceuta—Tangier—Arzillah—El Haratch—Meheduma—Sallee—Rabat—Schella—Mazagan—Mogadore—Agadeer—Morocco—Population—Palace—Fez—Edifices—Decayed State—Terodant—Mequinez—Royal Residence—Manners of Inhabitants.

THE geographical position of Morocco is bounded on the north and west by the Mediterranean and the Atlantic respectively; on the south by the Sahara, or Great Desert; and on the east by the river Moulouia, which separates it from the Algerine province of Tlemsan, and coincides with the ancient division of Numidia and Mauritania Proper. From the ocean to the stream now specified, the distance is not less than 200 miles; while the length of the empire, from Cape Spartel to Cape Nun, is about 550, comprehending nearly eight degrees of latitude. It has been observed, however, that the Arabs beyond the southern bank of the Suz, though they nominally acknowledge the sovereignty of Morocco, yet, availing themselves of their great distance from the seat

of government, and other local advantages, pay very little attention to the imperial mandates.*

The whole country comprises four grand divisions, answering to the four kingdoms into which the territory was originally distributed; namely, Fez, or Fas, Morocco, Suz, and Tafilet, according to the following table:—

FEZ.

| Provinces. | Towns. |
|---|---|
| 1. El Rif,. .... ..... .... | Woojada, Melilla. |
| 2. El Gharb, or Algarve, .. . . | Tetuan, Tangier, Arzillah. |
| 3. Beni Hassan, . . ....... | Sallee, Rabat. |
| 4. Temsena,... .. ... . ... .... | Dar el Beeda. |
| 5. Shawiya. | |
| 6. Fez,.. . .. . ..... ....... | Fez, Mequinez. |
| 7. Tedla. | |

MOROCCO.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Duquella,. . .. .... .. ..... . | Mazagan, Azimore. |
| 2. Abda, . .. . .. .. .. | Saffi. |
| 3. Shedma, . .. ..... ... | Mogadore. |
| 4. Haha, or Hea. | |
| 5. Morocco,......... .... | Morocco. |

SUZ.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Suz, or Suza,. .. . . .. ... ... . | Agadeer, Terodant, Irnoon. |
| 2. Draha. | |

TAFILET.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Tafilet, ....... .. ........... ... | Tafilet. |
| 2. Draha. | |
| 3. Segilmissa,...................... | Segilmissa. |

The distinguishing geographical features of the country are connected with the grand chain of the Atlas, by which it is traversed in its whole extent, and which, in the southern parts, attains a great elevation. Its summits, covered with perpetual snow, are seen at the distance of nearly 200 miles, and are therefore estimated to be not less

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 187. Conder's Geographical Dictionary, article Morocco. In the latter work, as well as in the Modern Traveller, there is a misprint,—Lat. 28°-30° N. for Lat. 28°-36° N.

than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. The loftiest peaks are observed to the south-east of Morocco, and are known by the corrupt appellation of Jebel Tedla,—a term supposed to have some reference to the more common name by which they are celebrated in the classical works of the Greeks and Romans.

All travellers agree in praising the fertility of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, the one of which is situated to the north and the other to the west of the Atlas. Within such latitudes, the climate, as might be expected, is comparatively mild; while the country, generally speaking, is free from those marshy tracts which, in the hotter regions of the earth, are found to produce the most fatal diseases. In the northern provinces the temperature is nearly the same as that which prevails in the Spanish peninsula, having the autumnal and vernal rains peculiar to the southern parts of Europe; but towards the Desert, the depositions from the atmosphere are less copious and frequent, and the heat of course is more oppressive. Indeed, beyond the river Suz, little or no rain falls throughout the whole year, and it is principally on this account that the caravans experience so much difficulty in traversing the sandy waste.

We are informed by Dr Lemprière, that the soil, though varying in its nature and quality, is, when properly cultivated, capable of producing all the luxuries of the eastern and western worlds. The plains of the interior uniformly consist of a rich black loam, which renders them fertile beyond all calculation. The mountainous parts, too, by the application of a little skill and capital, might be

covered with most of those plants which delight in the elevated tracts of sultry regions; including coffee, cocoa, and pimento, with all the tropical fruits and delicacies on which Europeans set so high a value. Experience has proved that sugar, cotton, rice, and indigo, may be raised to much advantage and at a trifling expense of labour. From the slight culture which the land at present receives, which is merely that of burning the stubble before the autumnal rains, and the ploughing it about six inches deep, it produces at a very early season, and in most luxuriant abundance, excellent wheat and barley, Indian corn, beans, peas, hemp, and a great variety of esculent vegetables. Among the fruits may be mentioned oranges of a very superior quality, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, melons, olives, figs, grapes, almonds, dates, peaches, apricots, apples, pears, cherries, plums, and, in short, all the fruits to be found in the southern provinces of Spain and Portugal. The natives preserve their grain in "matamores,"—holes made in the earth, lined and covered with straw, to prevent the rain from soaking through; and in these receptacles corn may be kept five or six years without undergoing any material change.

Could a proper spirit for agriculture and foreign commerce be introduced into the country, or, in other words, could the sovereign be persuaded that, by suffering his subjects to be enriched, he would improve his own treasury, the empire of Morocco, from its convenient situation with respect to Europe, and from the natural luxuriance of its soil, might acquire a very high political importance. But every where there are immense tracts lying waste and uncultivated, which, with little attention, might

be converted into a source of almost inexhaustible wealth to the inhabitants. From this representation, it would scarcely be supposed credible that Spain, which is also a fine country and a civilized nation, should, from time to time, be obliged to remit to the barbarian emperor large sums of money, to induce him to allow his subjects to export corn, as well as most other provisions and fruits, from Tangier and Tetuan. Indeed, the southern provinces of Spain can hardly subsist without this supply.*

We are told that the Jews in most of the towns make wine; but, owing either to the grapes not being in such perfection as those of Europe, or to an improper mode of preparing it, the flavour is very indifferent. They also distil a species of brandy from figs and raisins, well known in that country by the name of aquadent. This liquor has a disagreeable taste, but in point of strength is little inferior to spirits of wine. It is drunk very freely by the Hebrews, without being diluted, on their feasts or days of rejoicing; and there are few of the Moors who are disposed to forego any private opportunity of taking their share of so exhilarating a beverage. These last likewise cultivate tobacco, of which there is, near Mequinez, a description which can be converted into a snuff not inferior to Maccaba.

In the mountains of Atlas there are numerous iron-mines; but, as the Moors do not understand the mode of working the ore, they have hitherto proved of trifling value. The neighbourhood of Terodant is said to abound in copper; and the natives assert

* Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, &c. By Wm. Lemprière, LL.D. p. 90. The exportation of corn has of late years been totally prohibited.

that, in the loftier parts of the range, there are also veins of gold and silver, which the emperor will not permit them to touch. This opinion is received by Dr Lemprière with hesitation, being satisfied that, if it had any foundation in truth, the Berbers, who inhabit the high grounds, and who pay very little respect to the government of Morocco, would long ago have availed themselves of such a treasure. Later writers, however, have removed all doubt as to the fact, that among the minerals of the Atlantic group are to be found distinct traces of the precious metals.

Of the population under the nominal jurisdiction of this Mohammedan sovereignty, the extent has been so imperfectly ascertained, that the estimate varies from fourteen millions to four and a half. Mr Jackson, who long officiated at Mogadore as British consul, gives the numbers as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Cities and towns of the empire,... | 936,000 |
| Morocco and Fez, west of Atlas,.. | 10,300,000 |
| Nomadic tribes, north of Atlas,.. .. | 3,000,000 |
| Tafilet, east of Atlas, .. ........ ... | 650,000 |
| | 14,886,000 |

There cannot be any doubt that this statement is greatly overrated, although the author is understood to have had access to the imperial registers, in which were inscribed all the names of the persons who paid taxes. Such records, in a country where to number the people is held a religious misdemeanour, must be regarded as a very equivocal ground of information; because there are many motives which might induce the government to augment the apparent sources of its revenue, which yet would have no connexion with an accurate census. Mr Jackson was informed, for example, that the city of Morocco

contained 270,000 inhabitants, and Fez, 380,000; while more recent travellers, worthy of the utmost confidence, assign to the former capital only 30,000 dwellers, and to the latter not more than 70,000.*

With respect to the history of this kingdom, viewed as a member of the Barbary States, it is well known that it represents one of the monarchies founded by the Arabs during the period of their domination in Northern Africa. The dynasty of the Aglabites, whose capital at one time was Kairwan, and that of the Edrisites, who resided at Fez, were subjugated by the Fatimites. These last, while they were occupied with the conquest of Egypt, allowed their western possessions to be seized by the Zuhites, who again were succeeded by the Hamadians and the Abn-Hassians in the provinces of Tunis and Constantina. But, in the remoter part of their territory, a chief of the Lamethouni, a tribe belonging to the Great Desert, at present unknown, chose for the reformer of his people, as well as their legislator and high-priest, an extraordinary person, named Abdallah-ben-Jasin, whose manner of living and habits combined an apparent abstinence with the most unbounded licentiousness. This artful fanatic originated a sect, distinguished, in the first instance, by furious zeal, and at all times extremely ambitious and enterprising, called the Almoravides, or, more properly, the Morabeth. These enthusiasts issued from the Desert like a fiery hurricane, threatening by turns Africa and Europe; their leader assuming the title of Emir al Mumenim, or Prince of the Faithful. In 1052, one of their commanders built

* Hœst and Chenier, quoted by Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 192.

the city of Morocco, then called Marakash, while another invaded and overran the finest part of Spain. This last is celebrated for having gained, in 1180, the battle of Sala, near Badajos, in which Alphonso, the Christian king, lost his life. The same people expelled from that country the dynasty of the Ommiades; and it was during the confusion which preceded the fall of this family that some of the rival claimants called the Almoravides to their aid. These Africans, like the first invaders, advanced with the strength and enterprising spirit of a new race; nor could the Christians have made head against them, if they had not found allies among the Moorish kings, who, at this time, established shortlived sovereignties; and who, when the Morabeth were driven out, became themselves an easy prey.

At the same time, the rule of these enthusiasts, whose objects were not less political than religious, extended over Algiers, the Sahara, Timbuctoo, and Soudan; but, in the year 1146, sectaries of a more austere character, designated the Almohades, usurping the good fortune which had so long attended the disciples of the son of Jasin, invaded the empire of the West, and reduced it to submission. Like the others, they endeavoured to establish the faith of their prophet in the southern kingdoms of Europe, and fought several obstinate battles in the plains of Andalusia; but, failing in this attempt, they received some compensation in the success with which they carried their tenets and their arms along the northern coast of Africa, even as far as the gates of Tripoli. The power, too, founded on fanaticism was doomed to be undermined by the same active spirit from which it had sprung. Intestine discord, the usual effect of

religious excitement, laid the Almohades open, in their turn, to the assault of a more recent class of schismatics, among whom were the Merinites, who, about the middle of the thirteenth century, gained possession of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. This tribe, however, more desirous to confirm than to extend their dominion, made no attempt to re-establish the great empire of Mogreb, the mighty sovereignty of the West; though this precaution did not entirely prevent the evil which was so justly apprehended. Hordes, of unknown name and origin, continued to issue from the Eastern Desert, animated with warmer zeal and fortified with higher pretensions; and, as such ardour is better suited for subduing kingdoms than for perpetuating a regular authority, the old settlers were uniformly seen to give place to the more modern fanatics. The power of the Beni Merini was accordingly overthrown by the Oatazi, an obscure race, who envied their greatness and aspired to supreme dominion; and, as this revolution coincided with certain efforts on the part of the Portuguese to extend the Christian faith to the shores of Africa, the stability of the Moorish kingdom was menaced at once from two opposite quarters. This emergency in their affairs induced them to invite a shereef, resident in Tafilet, named Hassan, who, as one of the posterity of the prophet, was entitled to the sovereignty of a Mussulman state. He succeeded completely in his enterprise; and having subdued the barbarous zealots whose phrensy or ambition had shaken the empire of Mogreb, he placed on the throne his own dynasty, which has exercised the regal office till the present day; combining with the dignity of sultan the more sacred

distinction which attaches to their pedigree as the progeny of Mohammed.*

Various races of men, we are told, now occupy the country under the rule of his present majesty; —the Berbers, primitive troglodytes of Mount Atlas, and the parent stock of the Guanches found in the Western Isles; the nomadic Arabs of the great plain of Morocco; the emigrants from Spain, who possess the cities, for which mode of life nature seems to have destined them; the Jews, who fill the interior departments of commerce; and the negroes, who appear to have gradually removed from the more glowing regions of the South. These several denominations of human beings, who are careful to trace their origin to different sources, are dispersed from the shores of the Mediterranean to Tafilet, the capital of which is eighteen days' journey from the city of Morocco, and to Suz, of which the boundaries are supposed to extend to the vicinity of the Niger.†

The subjects of this empire, it is maintained, are still slaves to an absolute despot, and strangers to the benefit of fixed laws, their only rule being the will of the sultan. Wherever this prince chooses his residence, he distributes justice in person; for which purpose he generally holds a court twice a-week, or oftener according to circumstances, in his hall of audience, graced with the full solemnity of a supreme tribunal. Here all complaints are addressed to him; every person has the freest access; and he hears with patience each individual who has a cause to defend, whether natives or foreigners, man or

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* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 187. Keatinge, Travels in Europe and Africa, p. 199.

† Keatinge, p. 201.

woman, rich or poor. Distinctions of rank are not regarded; every one being entitled, without hinderance or embarrassment, to approach the common sovereign. Sentence is promptly pronounced, always with the authority of an absolute and final decision, but generally, it is admitted, in the spirit of the most impartial equity.

With the exception, however, of these imperial audiences, the administration of affairs is marked by disorder, rapine, and violence. The governors of provinces have the title of caliph or lieutenant, of pasha or kaid; and every where combine judicial with executive power to such an extent, that they remit to the judges no case which does not present some peculiar difficulty. In some of the towns, and especially in Fez, there are cadis, or independent magistrates, who are invested with great authority as interpreters of the law; but it is remarked, that as the governors and judges are usually oppressed by the sultan, they, in their turn, harass and defraud the people. The lowest officer pillages in his master's name; and as the wealth thus acquired falls ultimately into the imperial treasury, the crime is overlooked in consideration of the contingent advantage. The sovereign can deprive any one of his subjects, however high his rank, of every thing belonging to him, except what is strictly necessary to prevent starvation; and this exercise of despotic power is not unfrequently directed against those who have amassed riches in the discharge of their official duties. The confiscated sums are said to pass into the common coffers of the Mussulmans, and this is the only account of them that is either asked or given. The consequences of such a sys-

tem may be easily conceived. The people, suspicious, cruel, and perfidious, respect no sort of obligation; their universal aim is to plunder one another; no confidence, no social tie exists among them, and scarcely even any feeling of affection beyond the narrowest limits of domestic life.*

Mr Jackson informs us, that the people belonging to the court have a particular dress, never appearing before the emperor in a hayk, but in a silham, or large cloak of white woollen cloth; and in presence of a pasha, or governor, the hayk is thrown over the shoulders, which at other times hangs loosely on the cap,—a mode of salutation similar to that of taking off the hat among Europeans.

The pride and arrogance every where ascribed to the Moors, appear in the strongest colours within the dominions of Morocco; for though they live in the most deplorable state of ignorance, slavery, and superstition, they esteem themselves the first people in the world, and contemptuously brand all others with the epithet of barbarian. It is not denied, however, that some of the better-educated among them are courteous and polite, and even possessed of great suavity of manners. They are affable and communicative where they repose confidence; and if in conversation the subject of discussion be serious, and the parties become warm in dispute, they have usually the prudence to withdraw, in a very delicate manner, the contested point, and to substitute another on which the current of opinion may flow more gently. They are slow to take offence; but, when irritated, they are both noisy and implacable. There is a noble trait in their characters

* Malte Brun, p. 192.

which ought not to be omitted,—their patience and resolution when visited by misfortune; they never despair; no bodily suffering, and no calamity, however great, will make them complain; they are resigned in all things to the will of Heaven, and wait in tranquil hope for an improvement of their condition. It is a singular point of etiquette, among a people who abide with so much firmness the decrees of fate, that the word "death" is never mentioned in the hearing of the sultan. When it is necessary to announce to him the demise of any person, they say, "he has fulfilled his destiny;" on which the monarch gravely utters this pious expression, "God be merciful to him."

It is not unworthy of remark, too, that the Moors are all equal by birth, and are not acquainted with any difference of rank but such as may be derived from official employments. Hence, the meanest man in the nation may aspire without presumption to a matrimonial connexion with the highest family not ennobled by descent from the prophet; and so great in Morocco are the effects of accident or caprice, that the peasant, in the course of a day, may change places with the governor of a province.

This people, it has been observed, are, for the most part, more cleanly in their persons than in their clothes. They wash their hands before every meal, which, as they use no knives or forks, they eat with their fingers. Half a dozen persons sit round a large bowl of *cuscusou*, and after the usual ejaculation, "In the name of God," each puts his hand into the dish, and taking up the food, throws it by a dexterous jerk into his mouth, without suffering the fingers to touch the lips. However re-

pugnant this may be to our ideas of cleanliness, yet, the hand being always washed and never touching the mouth in the act of eating, these folks are by no means so dirty as Europeans have sometimes hastily imagined. They have no chairs or tables in their houses, but sit cross-legged on carpets and cushions; and at meals the bowl or dish containing the repast is placed on the floor.*

When a Mussulman is inclined to marry, he makes inquiry of some confidential servant respecting the person of her mistress, and if he receive a satisfactory description of the lady, an opportunity is sometimes procured to see her at a window or some other place. This interview generally decides whether the parties are to continue their regards; and if the young man be satisfied with the attractions of the maiden, he takes occasion to communicate his wishes to her father, and makes his proposal for marriage. Of the wedding-ceremony various accounts have been given by different authors. According to Mr Jackson, whose acquaintance with the habits of the people was minute and accurate, the bridegroom is mounted on a horse with his face covered, surrounded by his friends, who run their horses and discharge their muskets, as if they meant to attack him. The kettledrum, the triangle, and a rude kind of flute, form the band of music; while the attendants of the young couple dance and jump about, twirling their firelocks in the air, and otherwise expressing their satisfaction. This boisterous mirth being finished, the parties go to the house of feasting, where the evening is spent in great conviviality, not without a certain violation of that

* Account of the Empire of Morocco, p. 147.

statute in their religious code which prohibits the use of strong drink. It is not expected that the woman should have a fortune or a settlement; but if the father be rich, he generally gives a dowry, and a quantity of pearls, rubies, and diamonds,—it being understood that this shall always remain her own property, and be returned with her, should she be separated from her husband.

The tenets of Islamism are well known to constitute the national religion of Morocco. Some years ago, a sect sprang up who professed a species of deism more pure than that maintained by the Mohammedan creed, inasmuch as in their symbol of faith they left out the name of the prophet. The declaration of belief by which they wished to be distinguished, comprehended nothing more complex than the following proposition:—" There is no God but the true God." His imperial majesty, however, hostile even to the appearance of innovation, discountenanced the authors of this refined Unitarianism; and, as might be expected, under a government so little disposed to temporize, he had soon the satisfaction to learn that the schismatics were again favoured with more orthodox views. But, notwithstanding this vigilance on the part of the sovereign, every religion is tolerated which maintains the unity of the Divine Being, whatever may be the modifications with which this leading doctrine is expounded. In Morocco itself, there are Roman Catholic monasteries, as well as at Mogadore, Mequinez, and Tangier; though the monks are closely watched, and occasionally exposed to some vexations. The Jews, on the contrary, who are exceedingly numerous, and have dwellings even in the valleys of the

Atlas, are treated with the most revolting inhumanity; their situation, both civil and moral, presenting a very singular phenomenon. On the one hand, their industry, their address, and their intelligence, make them masters of all the branches of trade, and even of manufactures; they direct the royal coinage; they levy the duties on exports and imports; and officiate as interpreters, agents, and commissioners. On the other hand, they experience the most odious treatment and ill usage. They are prohibited from writing in Arabic, and even from learning the characters; because no profanation could be esteemed greater than the sight of a Jew reading the Koran. Their women, too, are forbidden to wear any green article of clothing, and are not allowed to veil more than one-half of the face. In passing a mosque, the persecuted Israelite must uncover his feet, and remove his slippers to a respectful distance; while a Moor may enter a synagogue without ceremony, and even insult the Rabbins.*

The revenue of the empire has been estimated at a million of piastres, derived partly from the customs and partly from the tithe of land. The army, which is equally ignorant of discipline and tactics, consists of about 36,000 men, of whom not less than two-thirds are negroes. The navy, which may amount to fifty vessels, was in former days almost entirely employed in piracy; the situation of the larger ports giving the marauders every advantage against the commerce of Europe.

Having exhibited a general view of the constitution and manners of the Western Moors, we shall now present a brief description of their principal cities.

* Account of Morocco, p. 139.

Proceeding westward from the boundaries of Algiers, we come to the town of Melilla, the Rissadirium of antiquity, which is in possession of the Spaniards, who still maintain a small garrison. In 1774, Sidi Mohammed, the emperor of Morocco, made an ineffectual attempt to reduce it. Having no trade, it is now remarkable for nothing but its fine honey. Velez, or Belis, a village placed between two mountains, somewhat nearer the straits, is supposed to have been founded by the Carthaginians, and to have possessed at one period a considerable degree of importance. The vicinity abounds in excellent timber, which, under an enlightened government, might be applied to the purposes of shipbuilding,—a use to which it was not unfrequently devoted by the corsairs along the shore, before the Europeans obtained a permanent footing in their country.

The mouth of the river Busega indicates to the traveller that he has arrived in the neighbourhood of Tetuan, a place still of some consequence, and at a former epoch very populous. It is pleasantly situated upon a rising ground between two ranges of high mountains, one of them constituting a part of the Lesser Atlas. Being only five miles distant from the Mediterranean, it commands a splendid view of that sea; and the valleys below are variegated with gardens, plantations of olives and vineyards, and ornamented with the fine stream just mentioned, which takes its course through its centre. The town is of considerable extent, and its walls are flanked with square towers, on which a few guns are mounted; but the streets are narrow and filthy, and many of them, like those in Algiers, are nearly arched over by the houses. The Caisseria, or marketplace, is

filled with shops, containing a great variety of valuable articles, both of European and African workmanship. Fez supplies the inhabitants, not only with the manufactures of that city, but also with goods brought thither from the Algerine States, Tunis, Alexandria, and Timbuctoo, by means of the annual caravans. In Gibraltar and Spain are procured certain commodities sent from England, Germany, and the Peninsula, which are exchanged for the produce of the country, or for the rarer merchandise of the lands beyond the Sahara.*

The port of Tetuan is situated about two miles from the sea, and is named Morteen. At this place, however, as we are informed by Dr Lemprière, there is only a single house used for the purpose of collecting the customs. As the mouth of the river is now nearly choked up with sand, it admits only of small craft; and even these can proceed no farther than the station now described, where there are usually some of the imperial galleys anchored for the winter. The estuary is defended by a high square tower, on which are mounted twelve pieces of cannon. Till the year 1770, Tetuan was the residence of the European consuls; but an Englishman having by accident shot or wounded a native, the emperor swore by his beard, that no Christian chargé d'affaires should dwell there any more.†

Ceuta, which is at present in possession of Spain, was heretofore the capital of *Hispania Transfretana*, and occupied by the Moors. It was afterwards taken by the Arabs; and again, in 1415, reduced by the Portuguese, who, in their turn, saw it pass into the hands of their neighbours. Being a commanding

* Lemprière, p. 430. Jackson, p. 92. † Jackson, as above.

position, it acquired great value in the eyes of the maritime states, as affording the means of checking the Barbary pirates; and to the Spaniards in particular its importance has not been diminished by the loss of Gibraltar. Various efforts have been made by the sovereigns of Morocco to recover it; but as it is almost impregnable towards the land, a military force without the aid of a fleet must for ever prove unavailing.

The whole coast, from hence to Tangier, being about a day's journey, is rugged and interspersed with projecting cliffs. This town, anciently called Tinjis and Tingia, was first possessed by the Romans, next by the Goths, and was, by Count Julian, given up to the Mohammedans. In the fifteenth century, it was taken by the King of Portugal, who gave it as a marriage-portion with his daughter Catherine to Charles the Second of England; but the subjects of the latter, finding the expense of keeping it to exceed greatly any advantage which might be derived from its possession, abandoned it in 1684, after destroying the mole and fortifications. It still retains some batteries in good condition facing the bay; at the bottom of which there is a river and the remains of an old bridge, which, even if it had stood till now, would have been entirely superseded by the accumulation of sand in the wonted channel of the current. Viewed from the seaside, Tangier presents a regular aspect. Its amphitheatrical situation, its whitened houses, the walls surrounding the town, the castle built on a hill, the consuls' residences, and the grand sweep of the coast, compose an interesting picture; but as soon as the streets are entered the illusion ceases, and the visiter finds himself sur-

rounded with every thing that characterizes the most squalid wretchedness.*

Doubling Cape Spartel, the waves of the Atlantic are seen washing the little town of Arzillah, called by the Carthaginians Zillia, and by the Romans, who had a garrison there, Julia Traducta. After passing through the hands of the Goths and Portuguese, it came ultimately into the possession of the Moors, who are its masters at the present day. It has no trade, and appears entirely destitute of wealth and industry; affording shelter only to a few miserable inhabitants, who acknowledge a government more ready to depress than befriend them. Leaving this decaying village, we advance towards El Haratch or Larache, situated at the mouth of the river Kos or Lucos. Here are more distinct remains of prosperity; while the defences and the commerce of the port indicate that the science of Europe must have aided in its fortifications. There are several mosques, too, and a handsome bazaar, surrounded with stone piazzas; but it is not concealed that these structures rather indicate what the place must have formerly been, than correspond to what it now is. The accumulation of sand, too, at the mouth of the river threatens it with the loss of the little trade which it still enjoys. Mr Jackson tells us, that in 1610 it was given up to Spain, and, in 1689, retaken by the Emperor Muley Ismael. He adds, that there is an excellent marketplace in the town; that the castle which commands the entrance of the road is in good repair; that the guns are well mounted; and that it is farther strengthened by several batteries on the banks of the stream. The French en-

* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 12.

tered it in 1765; but by a feint of the Moors they were induced to go too far up, when they were surrounded by superior numbers, and fell victims to their own impetuosity.*

At the distance of sixty-five miles towards the south stands Meheduma, the Mamora of Europeans, on the banks of the Seboo. It is situated on an eminence, close to the river, and described as a poor neglected place, the inhabitants and ferrymen of which gain a livelihood by catching a species of salmon,—a fish found in great quantities between autumn and the spring. But the contiguous country is much more remarkable than the town, consisting of an immense plain, said to extend eighty miles into the interior, as smooth as a bowling-green, covered with the richest verdure, and diversified by three large fresh-water lakes, which are adorned with trees and shrubs, and well stocked with water-fowl. The district was formerly possessed by a thick population, but the incalculable number of mosquitoes, gnats, and other annoying insects, have compelled the people to remove. There are a few insulated spots in the largest lake, which is not less than twenty miles in length, where are built sanctuaries for the marabouts, who here, as well as elsewhere, are greatly venerated by the natives.

Sallee, celebrated as the resort of the most savage order of corsairs, is built on the northern bank of a river formed by the confluence of the Babegreg and Wieroo. It is a walled town, and rather strongly fortified; but the navigation of the estuary is becoming every day more impeded by the usual obstructions of sand and mud, and will, in a short

* Jackson, p. 96.

time, cease to answer the purposes of commerce. On the opposite side of the stream stands Rabat, which is rather larger than the other, and was once the seat of several European factories, to which were confided the commercial interests of their respective nations. On an adjoining eminence are seen the remains of an old castle, erected by the Sultan El Mansour in the twelfth century, some bomb-proof vaults remarkable for their strength, and the remains of a battery meant to defend the port. The same monarch is reputed to have built a famous mosque, the roof of which was supported by 360 columns of marble; many fragments of which are found scattered in the neighbourhood. At a little distance is a large tower, about 180 feet in height, and consisting of seven stories, which is said to have been constructed about five hundred years ago. It is ascended by an inclined plane, instead of a stair, so that a person may reach the top on horseback; while the path has been formed of a cement so hard as to defy, not only the dissolving power of time, but even the more direct application of the hammer and pick-axe.*

On the eastern side of Rabat is a walled town named Schella, supposed to be the metropolis of the Carthaginian colonies, anciently founded by Hanno on this border of the Atlantic. It is esteemed sacred ground by the Mussulmans, is held in much veneration, and protected with great care against the approach of a Christian. Passing Fedalla and Dar el Beeda, neither of which presents any thing worthy of observation, we come to Mazagan, a town built by the Portuguese, who, in 1769, were induced

* Jackson's Morocco, p. 100.

to evacuate it as no longer worthy of their care. As Oualida and Saffi have nothing which could interest the modern reader, we omit all allusion to their mouldering walls and decayed dwellings, in order to reach Mogadore, the usual residence of a British consul. This port is built on the brink of the ocean, defended from the encroachment of the waves by a ledge of rocks, and separated from the cultivated country by a belt of sand. At spring tides, it is nearly surrounded by the swelling waters, which, after attaining a certain height, meet with no obstruction on the flat shore. There are two towns, or rather a citadel and an outer town; the former containing the custom-house, the treasury, the residence of the kaid, and the houses of the foreign merchants and civil officers. The Jews, not enjoying any of the distinctions now mentioned, are obliged to live in the latter, which is also walled in and protected by sufficient batteries. The Emperor Sidi Mohammed, to impress on the minds of the people his desire to make Mogadore the principal commercial port on the ocean, ordered the pasha and other depositaries of his power, to bring him mortar and stones, whilst he, with his own hands, began to build a fortification, which is still to be seen on the rocks west of the town; and with the view of encouraging the traders to erect substantial dwellings, he not only gave them ground, but allowed them to ship produce free of duty until their expenses were reimbursed. This is the only station which maintains a regular intercourse with Europe, as it continues, in some degree, to profit by the immunities originally conferred by his imperial highness.

The last port in the Atlantic dominions of Morocco is Agadeer, the Santa Cruz of some authors, and the Guerguessem of Leo Africanus. The town, which stands on an elevated position, has great natural strength, and its walls display a few mounted guns; while the bay is esteemed the safest in the empire for large vessels, being sheltered on all sides from dangerous winds. It was fortified in 1503 by Emanuel, king of Portugal, but taken by the Moors about thirty years afterwards; and continuing in the possession of these last, it might have attained to considerable importance, had not the refractory conduct of one of its governors provoked the emperor in 1773 to dismantle it, and transfer its commercial privileges to Mogadore.

Of Morocco itself we have already traced the origin to the eleventh century, when the foundations were laid by Yussuf Teshfin, the chief of a tribe who occupied the lands between Mount Atlas and Tafilet. The surrounding country is at once beautiful and romantic; the alpine range, which terminates the view, contrasting in a very striking manner with the luxuriance of the fields and gardens in the neighbourhood of the capital. The lily-of-the-valley, lupins, fleurs-de-lis, roses, jonquils, mignonette, jasmines, violets, the orange and citron flowers, and many others, grow there spontaneously; and in the months of March and April the air in the morning is strongly perfumed with their grateful and delicious odours. Among the fruits are oranges of the finest flavour, figs of various kinds, melons, apricots, peaches, grapes, dates, plums, and pomegranates.*

* Jackson, p. 118.

Ali Bey asserts that the city, which once contained about seven hundred thousand inhabitants, had not, when he was there in the beginning of the present century, more than thirty thousand. The walls which surround it have survived the ravages of time and of man, and give some proof of the former splendour of the place; they embrace a circumference of about seven miles, the interior of which is covered with ruins or converted into gardens. The remainder constitutes the present town; but, though the houses are in a line, and form streets, there are many spaces left unoccupied. There are several public squares or marketplaces, which, if they were paved and kept clean, would display some degree of magnificence; but, in this neglected state, they are only remarkable for mud when it rains, and for dust during the dry weather. The mosques are large, and have even a certain measure of grandeur in their construction; though, as the architecture is of different ages, their appearance carries not a little offence to the eye of taste.

The palace of the sultan is situated out of town towards the south, and is composed of a vast group of buildings. Besides the apartments for his majesty, his sons, and the numerous females who make part of the establishment, it contains several gardens. The different officers belonging to the court have also their separate lodgings; to which are added two mosques, immense yards or squares, where the emperor holds his public audiences, giving to the whole the semblance of a royal city, and which, in point of fact, occupies a circumference of about three miles.

This unfortunate capital no longer enjoys the

benefits of trade, commerce, or manufactures; the arts and sciences are entirely forgotten; and, in short, says Ali Bey, it would be impossible to believe such an astonishing and rapid decline, if it were not proved by its large walls, its immense masses of ruins, the great number of conduits now become useless, and its vast churchyards.*

Fez, another metropolis of this barbaric empire, displays the same symptoms of waste, misgovernment, and ignorance. It is situated on the slope of several hills, which surround it on every side, except the north and north-east; affording, as it has been supposed, the usual indifferent lodging to about a hundred thousand human beings, only the one-half of what they were prior to a late visitation of the plague. Like Algiers, its streets are dark and gloomy, because they are not only so narrow that two horsemen can hardly ride together, but also because the houses, which are very high, have a projection on the first floor, which intercepts much of the light. This inconvenience is increased by certain galleries or passages connecting the upper part of the buildings, and by the high walls which, at various distances, are raised across the streets as if to support the houses on either side. These walls have arched passages, like the Bab el Ouad in the city just named, which are shut at night; the town being thereby divided into several quarters, and all communication between them entirely precluded until sunrise.†

It is well known that this city, the most celebrated in Western Barbary, was founded in the year 786, by Idris, a descendant of the great prophet, and

* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 157. † Ali Bey, p. 67.

is divided into two parts, called the old and new, or Fez Jedide and Fez el Balee. It is not so extensive as Morocco, but, the buildings being more lofty and spacious, it contains a greater number of inhabitants. The houses have flat roofs, ingeniously worked in wood and covered with cement, on which the families spread carpets in summer, to enjoy the cool breezes of evening; a small turret containing a room or two is also erected upon them for the use of the ladies, who resort thither for amusement and recreation. There is a great number of mosques, sanctuaries, and other public edifices, about fifty of which are very splendid, being ornamented with a kind of marble unknown in Europe, procured in the Atlas Mountains. The hospitals which are mentioned by early writers must have fallen greatly into decay, as there are now very few remaining. In these the poor are fed, but no medical officer attends them; women alone minister to the sick and infirm till they recover, or death terminates their sufferings. There are nearly 200 caravanseras, or inns, each containing from fifty to a hundred apartments. But, except water and a mat, nothing is furnished for the accommodation of the guest, who must find food and bedclothes elsewhere.*

Every trade or profession has a street or section of the town allotted to it. In one place are shops occupied by notaries or scribes; another has its stationers; a third is restricted to wax-chandlers, and a fourth to shoemakers; while fruit, bread, and meat, are sold in their respective localities. The markets for provisions are very numerous, and well supplied with victuals, dressed or undressed; being in this

* Jackson, p. 131.

respect not inferior to the majority of the large cities in Europe.

It is not concealed, by the most enthusiastic travellers, that the ruins and mud by which the streets of Fez are encumbered render them extremely disagreeable. The houses, too, are so miserably decayed that many of them are actually propped up; almost all are without windows; and the few of these which meet the eye are not larger than a common sheet of paper. The doors likewise have a mean and shabby appearance. Behind these wretched walls, it is true, are occasionally concealed mansions, the inside of which presents something like comfort and elegance. The ceiling, the doors of the rooms, and the arcades of the court-yard, are painted in various colours, and even overlaid with gold and silver; the floors being decorated with Dutch tiles, or with marble of different tints, arranged so as to form rather pleasing designs.*

Terodant is known as the metropolis of the south, and was formerly that of the kingdom of Susa. It still possesses a noble palace, adorned with gardens containing the most delicious fruits; but, generally speaking, it has lost its trade, population, and the consequence which once belonged to it as a provincial capital. Its reputation is now confined to the manufacture of a superior kind of saltpetre, and the preparation of leather used for saddles.

Mequinez, the second city of Morocco, stands in a beautiful valley about sixty miles from Sallee, and is surrounded by gentle eminences combining all the attractions of nature. It owes its extent and importance to the policy of Sultan Muley Ismael, who, when he had secured to himself the undisputed sove-

* Ali Bey, p. 67.

reignty of the small kingdoms which now constitute the empire, resolved to strengthen the northern division of it by erecting a walled town fit to receive a competent garrison. At the south end he built a palace, forming an immense quadrangle, and enclosing a number of gardens, well watered by streams from the adjacent country. In the centre of this enclosure is the harem, which, again, surrounds a small paradise planted with trees, and invested by a gallery supported on massy columns. This royal residence is rendered more spacious by being constructed altogether on the ground-floor. The rooms are long and lofty, but narrow, being only twelve feet wide, while they are eighteen high and twenty-five in length. The walls are inlaid with glazed tiles of bright colours, which give an air of coolness to the apartments; and the light is communicated by means of two large folding-doors, which are opened more or less according to the degree of clearness required in the interior. Between the different suites of rooms are courts regularly paved with square pieces of black and white marble, and in the centre of some of them are seen fountains composed of the same rich material.

The inhabitants, whose manners are mild and courteous, compared at least to those in any other part of the empire, are also very hospitable; taking pleasure in inviting strangers to their gardens and a share of their entertainments. The women, it is added, are handsome without exception; and to a fair complexion, with expressive black eyes and dark hair, they unite a suavity of disposition rarely experienced in the most polished cities of Europe.*

* Jackson, p. 129.

As the religion, government, military system, and administration of justice, present in Morocco features very similar to those which prevail throughout the other states of Northern Africa, we purposely abstain from details that would necessarily lead to repetition. We now, therefore, conclude the geographical notices which the history of this portion of the globe has naturally suggested, as connected more especially with our retrospect of the greatness and magnificence to which some parts of it attained under the Roman emperors and the earliest of the sultans. But the view of its actual condition would not be complete did we omit to make a few observations on the productive powers of its soil and climate, and on the commerce which might enrich the inhabitants, and restore to them in some measure the blessings of civilisation.*

* In our search for materials we have discovered that there is in the course of publication at Florence, a "History of the Empire of Morocco," in 8vo, by the Chevalier Gräberg de Hamsö, many years Swedish consul at Tangier and Tripoli. It is to be illustrated with an excellent map, the best yet engraved of that country; as the author has taken the outline of the one published by the Geographical Society of London 1831, and has joined to it all the information he was able to collect during some years' residence at Tangier. Aided by a perfect knowledge of Arabic, the Chevalier Gräberg is well known in the literary world as the author of many works, and especially as the translator of the celebrated Arabic MS. of the historian Ibnou Khaldour, published in the third volume of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of London.—Nautical Magazine, vol. iii. p. 663.

## CHAPTER X.

### *Commerce of the Barbary States.*

Benefits expected from a Trade with Africa—Plan of Bonaparte and Talleyrand to raise in it colonial Produce—French have always maintained commercial Relations with Barbary—The Fertility of Central Africa—The Congo and Niger—Market at Bengazi—Ancient Trade of the Genoese—Exports from Tunis—Imports—Commercial Lists of that Pashalic—Trade diminished—Bad Policy of the Bey—System of Licenses—Coins, Weights, and Measures, at Tunis—Trade of Algiers carried on by the Corsairs—Imports resemble those of Tunis—Manufactures and Exports—Mode of Shipbuilding—Present State of Commerce at Algiers—Trade with France, England, Italy, Spain, and Tunis—Trade of Morocco—Mogadore—Total Value of Exports and Imports—Intercourse with Negro Nations—Coins, Weights, and Measures—Physical Advantages of Northern Africa—Hopes of Improvement.

The attention of Europe has at various times been excited by the prospect of numerous benefits to be derived from a trade with Africa, more especially through the ports situated on its northern shores. During the long period occupied by the revolutionary war, when the French were excluded from the West India Islands and made dependent on Great Britain for colonial produce, various schemes were agitated in the councils of Bonaparte, with the view of supplying this deficiency by establishing settlements in the Barbary States. It is said that Talleyrand suggested a plan for raising on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, and by employing, too, the labour of the native inhabitants, sugar, coffee,

cotton, and all the other commodities which are usually conveyed to Europe, at a great expense, from the tropical climates of either hemisphere. But the toils and hazards of a still loftier ambition withdrew the thoughts of the emperor from the colonization of Africa, until it was too late to make the attempt; and that project, with others of a less practicable nature, he left to his successors, who, with diminished means and perhaps with less able instruments, have not failed to realize it, at least in part.*

It is believed that the recommendation of Talleyrand was never entirely forgotten, even during the most tranquil times of the Bourbon restoration. No one could be blind to the hazard that the course of events was likely, at no distant day, to deprive all the European nations of their transatlantic possessions; and that the luxuries, in which the people had been long accustomed to indulge, must be sought in some other quarter of the globe. The history of St Domingo gave a lesson to the politicians of Paris, too impressive to be neglected; and hence the lively interest which they have displayed in every design which has had for its object the occupation of Northern Africa. These reasons, viewed in their several bearings, may perhaps justify the conclusion, founded on other considerations, that the expedition of 1830 was not altogether confined to the chastisement of the dey, nor to the mere suppression of his marauding practices.

The French, as has been already observed, had succeeded, by treaty or otherwise, in obtaining certain privileges both at Tunis and Algiers, which for

* Geographical and Commercial View of Northern Central Africa, by James M'Queen, p. 214.

many years gave them a great advantage over all competitors in the traffic of that country. Their establishment at La Cala was to them the source of much wealth and influence, and they complained bitterly when, towards the end of the last century, the trade was opened to other nations on a more liberal principle.

Nor can it be concealed that commercial views have all along mixed to a greater or less extent with those more generous motives, which, from time to time, have induced the British government to second private adventure in the exploration of Africa. The gold-mines of the mountainous regions, and the varied products of the fertile plains, have never been entirely absent from the imagination of those patriotic statesmen and enterprising merchants, to whom is due the great honour of aiding the resolute discoverers, who laboured to trace the course of the Niger and the Congo. The vast alluvial districts, which stretch to an immense distance from the banks of these celebrated rivers, and the acclivities which bask in the rays of an equatorial sun, impressed the minds of both classes with a firm conviction that, could the elements of civilisation be once introduced into Africa, the productions of Jamaica, of Hindostan, and even of China, might be procured at half the usual expense. But our object, in the brief sketch now to be given of the commerce of the Barbary States, is not to conjecture the extent to which it might be improved, and the numerous advantages inseparable from its advancement to the natives as well as to foreigners: it is simply to present an outline of the actual transactions which take place between the dealers of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, and the several

kingdoms of Europe, whose subjects are permitted to approach their harbours.

There is a considerable market at Bengazi, to which the numerous Arabs who feed their flocks upon the Cyrenean mountains conduct great droves of cattle, and bring vast quantities of wool, butter, ostrich-feathers, and honey; and at which they purchase fire-arms and gunpowder, Tripoli cloaks, and earthenware. A great trade in cattle is still carried on with Malta, not only for the supply of that island, but of vessels which are fitted out for long voyages. The ostrich-feathers would alone form a most lucrative branch of trade, if they could be bought directly from the Bedouins; but the Jews pay a large annual tribute to the pasha for the monopoly of that article. The skin of the male bird, with all the feathers attached, is sold by the natives for about thirty Spanish dollars, and that of the female for fifteen; while the privileged purchasers dispose of them at Leghorn or Marseilles for at least three times the original cost.

From the quantity of goods actually exported, an opinion may be formed as to the extent to which commerce might be carried, were the surrounding territory cultivated with industry, and the government disposed to encourage a fair and open traffic. The great trade which the Genoese maintained with the Cyrenaica, in the early times of their republic, was one of the richest sources of its prosperity; and we find that, though their mercantile and political connexions with this country were subsequent to those formed with Armenia, Syria, and other places both in Asia Minor and in Egypt, they, in a short time, made such a rapid progress, that, in the year 1267,

the senate thought it expedient to institute at Genoa a school for the study of the Saracenic language. There accordingly exists in the public archives of that city the original manuscript of a treaty, dated 1236, between the republic and a certain Busacherino, calling himself Lord of Africa, by which the subjects of the former were permitted to trade freely in any port, from Tripoli to the confines of Barca. It appears also that, besides corn, they purchased large quantities of wool, ostrich-feathers, oil for their soap-manufactories, different sorts of skins, leather, wax, and a variety of fruits. In this enumeration, made 600 years ago, we find the several productions of the modern Cyrene; and so abundant was the supply of wool, that the Genoese made cloth for most of the maritime cities of Europe. Their mercantile speculations, indeed, were at that period supported by the powerful navy which they usually kept at sea; and being allies of Saladin, as well as of the Eastern emperors, and at the same time masters of Corsica, Cyprus, and several towns in Spain, they enforced the observance of treaties by the presence of an overwhelming fleet, and once within the very walls of Tripoli inflicted ample punishment for the violation of good faith.*

We find that the exports from the pashalic of Tripoli in these days are not very different from the merchandise produced in the thirteenth century. Wool is still specified as an important commodity; to which are added senna and other drugs; madder-roots, barilla, hides, goat and sheep skins dressed; salt, trona (an alkali resembling borax), ostrich-feathers, gold-dust, ivory, gum, dried fruit and dates;

* Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli, p. 199.

lotus-beans, cassol-venere, saffron, bullocks, sheep, and poultry. Of all these articles the quality is good, and the prices are generally lower than those of Algiers and Tunis. The duties imposed by his highness are very fluctuating, and usually depend on the state of commerce on the opposite shores. Cotton is said to have been cultivated very successfully by certain individuals in the regency; but, owing to a want of encouragement, it is not produced in such quantities as to form a profitable speculation.

The list of imports comprehends cloths of every colour and description, sugar, tea, coffee, spices of all sorts, woollen and Manchester stuffs, damasks, silks, gold and silver tissues, laces, cochineal, indigo, iron, hardware of all kinds, small wines, spirits, capillaire, gunpowder, cannon, muskets, pistols, and sword-blades, naval stores, planks and beams for shipbuilding, looking-glasses, toys, cotton thread, and similar commodities. To those who may be inclined to barter, a ready market is generally found at Tripoli; and the profits may be said to vary from sixty to a hundred per cent., but are rarely less than the former.*

Upon inspecting the commercial lists of Tunis, we find that the kind of goods produced for exportation, as well as such as are received from the European ports, bear a great resemblance to those already described. Mr M'Gill procured a copy of a tariff, regulating the duty or customs on all merchandise imported by the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, from which we extract the following articles:—Cochineal, gum-lac, Pernambuco-wood, vitriol, lead, indigo, coral, quicksilver, silk, cloves and other spices, opium, musk, tea, steel, nails, gun-barrels, pistols, silks, fine cloths,

* Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. pp. 41, 42.

muslin, dimity, cambric, sugar in loaf and candied, manna, liquorice, cheese, herrings, salmon, arsenic, sarsaparilla, sal-ammoniac, brimstone, rhubarb, camphor, paper, glass, planks, rafters, and bottles. The exports are confined to grain, oils of different qualities, wool, hides, wax, and a delicate species of soap.*

The French have profited more than any other European kingdom by the trade of the Barbary States. Prior to the late war, they procured from Northern Africa a large supply of very valuable produce, both for their own use and that of their neighbours, while they found a lucrative and not inconsiderable market for their several manufactures. Even during the progress of hostilities, when they were unable to carry on the commerce themselves, they regarded the merchants of all other countries as intruders on their proper domain; and as many natives of France had settled in the regency, they enjoyed advantages which were not conceded to the British until the necessity of opening new markets suggested to the pasha a more liberal policy. But the trade of Tunis, though still the most important on the African coast, has suffered a great diminution compared to what it was half a century ago. Then it was not uncommon to see hundreds of ships lying in the roads and at the Goletta, also great numbers at all her outports, loading the rich productions of her soil to satisfy the wants of Spain, Italy, and France. It is now rare to see more than half a dozen vessels at the capital, or above one at a time in any of the subordinate harbours; and these, it is added, are of very small burthen.

This unhappy result is, in some degree, attri-

* Account of Tunis, p. 112.

butable to the furious war which so long wasted the powers of the maritime kingdoms of Europe. But the misunderstanding between Algiers and Tunis themselves had a still more ruinous effect on the commerce of both; their mutual aggressions by sea and land weakened the resources of each; and at length put a final stop to all such intercourse as might have encouraged the industry of their respective inhabitants. The main cause, however, of this decline has been traced to the unwise conduct of the bey. From an ill-directed love of gain, he has not only become a merchant himself, but also permits the whole of his ministers and the people of his court to follow his example. The product or manufacture which his subjects brought to market, they could formerly sell to the highest bidder: now it is seized by the rapacity of these princely dealers, and if paid for, which is not always the case, a price is given at the pleasure of the purchaser, and not with any view to the remuneration of the agriculturist or the tradesman.

The French ascribe to the opening of the trade in 1781 the decline of their commerce on the coast of Barbary. Before the period now mentioned, none but themselves could carry on trade between that country and the shores of Africa, unless upon the payment of a duty amounting to twenty per cent.; and there is no doubt that, since other nations were admitted on more liberal terms, the mercantile transactions of the French have decreased very considerably. In place of twelve respectable houses, which enjoyed a very lucrative business, and also several Italian establishments of some repute, Mr M'Gill found only two miserable agencies; both of which,

in the course of a whole year, did not buy and sell as much as one of the former used to do in a month. Any little commerce now pursued with the northern shores of the Mediterranean, is in the hands of Moors, Jews, and the Christian subjects of the bey, who are sometimes allowed to enter into speculations, though viewed as rivals to his highness and the court.*

But the pasha oppresses commerce not only by his personal interference as a dealer, he also paralyses its energies by a system of license, from which he occasionally derives large sums of money. The document granted to the merchant is called a teskera, and the price of it is regulated by the demand for the commodity of which it permits the exportation. As the will of his highness is the only rule, the expense of procuring leave to ship any article is not unfrequently more than equal to the first cost of the cargo itself. For example, if wheat be forty-five piastres the measure, the teskera may be rated at fifty piastres; so that the grain, when put on board, is more than doubled in price; and as there is no standard or permanent regulation on this head, the foreigner who sails thither for corn, knows not the terms on which his purchases are to be made until the mandate of the bey has been issued from his palace of El Bardo. It is manifest, therefore, that until this capricious scheme of finance shall be discontinued, no British merchant will be induced to trade with Tunis.†

Judging from the latest statement we have seen on this subject, there seems reason to conclude that

* Account of Tunis, p. 127.
† Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 266.

the interests of commerce are now viewed through a more favourable medium, and that the range of its operations is again gradually extending. In 1830, there entered the ports of Tunis 194 ships, of the burden of 20,747 tons, exclusive of those engaged in the trade with the other African states and Turkey. It would also appear that the largest share of their foreign transactions again centres at Marseilles, as in the times prior to the Revolution. With England there is very little direct intercourse, though there is a good deal of business carried on through the medium of Gibraltar and Malta. The latter settlement, indeed, might be amply supplied from that quarter with most of the necessaries of life and even the luxuries of the table, could the Tunisian government be induced to establish fixed principles of trade, and consent to a convenient reciprocity. Bullocks, sheep, fruit, and vegetables, would be shipped in the greatest abundance for our garrisons in the Mediterranean, if the ancient habits of a barbarian despotism were succeeded by the enlightened policy of modern Europe.*

At Tunis, accounts are kept in piastres, fifteen of which are equal to a pound sterling. Gold, silver, and pearls, are weighed by the ounce of eight meticals; sixteen of these ounces making one of their pounds, or 7773 English grains. The principal commercial weight is the cantaro, containing 100 rottoli or pounds, being equivalent to 111 pounds avoirdupois. The chief corn measure is the cafiz, which is equal to $14\frac{1}{2}$ imperial bushels. The wine measure is the millerolle of Marseilles, equal to about 14 of our

* Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce, &c. by J. R. M'Culloch, p. 1197.

gallons; that used for oil is denominated metal or mettar, and contains rather more than five wine gallons; but it is of different dimensions in different parts of the country, and is larger at Susa, whence most of the oil is exported, than at Tunis. The pic or pike is the usual instrument for long measure; but it varies when applied to woollen cloth, to silk, and to linen. For the first it is 26·5 English inches; for the second it is 24·8; and for the last it is only 18·6 English inches.*

As to Algiers, before it fell into the occupation of the French, its trade was almost entirely carried on by the small communities of corsairs, who contrived to combine with commerce a destructive war upon the mercantile navy of the whole Mediterranean. Their imports, as might be expected, differed little from those which are in request at Tunis and Tripoli; consisting chiefly of gold and silver stuffs, damasks, cloths, spices, tin, iron, plated brass, lead, quicksilver, cordage, sail-cloth, bullets, cochineal, linen, tartar, alum, rice, sugar, soap, copperas, aloes, dyewoods, and vermilion. In return they were ready to give,—oil, wax, hides, pulse, and corn, though not in great quantities, together with the usual commodities of rugs, silk sashes, embroidered handkerchiefs, ostrich-feathers, dates, and Christian slaves, whose ransom sometimes paid for whole cargoes. Some manufactures in silk, cotton, wool, and leather, were carried on near the metropolis, but chiefly by Spaniards who had been induced to settle there. Carpets were also made in the country, which, though much inferior to those of Turkey,

* M'Culloch, as above. Mr M'Gill makes the pike 25 inches, 27 inches, and 19½ respectively.

both in beauty and fineness, were preferred by the people as being at once cheaper and softer. It may appear strange, considering the pursuits of the natives, that the regency furnished no materials for shipbuilding. They had neither ropes, tar, sails, anchors, nor even iron. When they could procure enough of new wood to form the main timbers of a vessel, they supplied the rest from the materials of the prizes they had taken; and in this way they produced complete fast-sailing cruisers from the ruins of captured merchantmen.

In the "Annuaire," or almanac of Algiers, already quoted, we observe copious lists of importations and exportations, classed under separate heads, and distinguishing the countries from which the goods are brought, and whither they are sent. They are farther subdivided into animal substances, vegetable substances, mineral substances, and manufactures.

The particulars, which it would be tedious to enumerate, correspond in effect to those already mentioned, together with such articles of luxury as are meant for the French themselves. The amount of imports from the conquering country is stated at 3,891,189 francs; those from the English possessions in the Mediterranean are to the value of 837,142 francs; from Italy, 1,168,157; from Spain, 108,726; from Tunis, 112,955; and from Sweden, consisting entirely of timber, 9700. The whole sum is 6,127,870 francs, or £255,328 sterling. The exportations are classed as follow:—

| | |
|---|---|
| From Algiers to France,.. .... ....... .. | 631,746 francs. |
| English Possessions,.... | 4,412 |
| Italy, .... . ..... . | 99,335 |
| Spain,. ... . . .. . . ... | 18,404 |
| Tunis,..................... | 18,782 |
| | 772,679 or £32,195. |

In the work of Mr Jackson there are ample materials for arriving at an accurate estimate of the commerce of Morocco, which proves to have been more extensive than the neglected state of the country and the insecure condition of all kinds of property would have led a casual observer to expect. The port of Mogadore is now the principal inlet to European produce, whence the capital, at the distance of four days' journey, receives its supplies. The articles which meet the readiest market are cloths of various fabrics, cambrics, muslins, blue linens, striped silk, velvets, damask, sugars and spices of all kinds, tea, gums of sundry descriptions, iron, wrought pewter, tin, white-lead, copper in sheets, mirrors, earthenware, paper, coral beads, Brazil-wood, and Mexican dollars.

The exports are sweet-almonds, bitter-almonds, gum-Barbary, gum-Soudan, gum-sandrac, bees' wax, goat-skins, oil of olives, sheep's wool, ostrich-feathers, elephants' teeth, pomegranates, raisins, worm-seed, rose-leaves, glue, fennel, walnuts, cummin-seeds, lead-ore, capers, carraway-seeds, and similar productions. The total value of imports for one year was £151,450, and of exports, after paying freight and European duties, was £127,679,—an amount which, though not great, was highly advantageous to the foreign merchant, inasmuch as all the goods conveyed thither were manufactured, while all the commodities received in return consisted of raw produce.*

But besides the commercial transactions now mentioned, Morocco, like the other Barbary States, maintains a constant intercourse with the negro nations beyond the Sahara, whence are brought gold-

* Jackson's Morocco, p. 193.

dust, ivory, and gums, more especially that valuable species which is known by the name of gum Senegal or Soudan.

At Mogadore, accounts are kept in nutkeels of ten ounces; the ounce being divided into four blankeels, and the blankeel into twenty-four fluce. From their proportion to the Spanish dollar, the blankeel may be valued at 1d., the ounce at 4d., and the nutkeel or ducat at 3s. 4d. As to weights, again, the commercial pound is generally regulated by the contents of twenty Spanish dollars; and therefore 100 pounds Mogadore weight, or the quintal, is equal to 119 pounds avoirdupois. But the market pound for provisions is 50 per cent. heavier, or one pound twelve and a half ounces avoirdupois. The corn measures are for the most part similar to those of Spain, though there are considerable discrepancies. The principal long measure is the cubit or canna; equal to twenty-one inches English.*

Northern Africa, as has been already suggested, possesses so many physical advantages, and is capable of so vast an improvement, that, were it in the hands of an enlightened people, its commerce would soon rival that of the ancient Phœnicians, or even of the most successful among modern nations. The country, which was once the granary of Rome, might again afford corn to an immense population, and supply with the richest delicacies of the vegetable kingdom the luxurious inhabitants of Italy, Spain, France, and England. Nor ought the views of an expanding trade to be limited to the lands, fertile as they may be, which stretch from the edge of the

* M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce, p. 805; and Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography, p. 1200.

Desert to the shores of the Mediterranean. The recent discovery of a river connecting the Atlantic with the interior of the magnificent plains that compose the central provinces of the continent, encourages hopes of civilisation, knowledge, and wealth, which at present it might seem romantic to express. The arts of Europe, and the astonishing command over the elements of nature that science continues to confer upon educated man, will enable future colonists to subdue the wildest portions of the globe, and replenish them, too, with nations delighting in the enjoyments of social life, and cultivating those lofty studies which at once bless and adorn the intercourse of human beings.*

* For additional observations on the commerce of the Barbary States, the reader is referred to Pananti's "Narrative of a Residence in Algiers," chap. xviii. p. 245, &c.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *Natural History.*

Additional Knowledge of Africa supplied by the French—GEOLOGY—Great and Little Atlas—Structure of the former—Succeeded by Tertiary Rocks—Supposed Extent of the Greater Atlas—Cyrenean Mountains—Reflections on the Desert—Relics of organized Bodies—Transition-rocks—Limestone—Talc-slate—Mineral Species—Secondary Formation—Limestone-shales—Marlstones and Sandstone—Embedded Minerals—Extent of the Little Atlas—Metals—Tertiary Rocks—Calcareous Sandstone, Clays, Porphyry, Dolerite, Greenstone, and Basalt—Blue Marl or London-clay—Organic Remains—Volcanic Rocks—Diluvian Formation—Soil of Metijah—Postdiluvian Formation—Uniform Operation of General Laws—ZOOLOGY—Scorpions and Serpents—Bûska—Effah—Boah—Locusts—Quadrupeds—Horreh—Aoudad—Nimmer—Heiric—Camel—Desert-horse—Birds—Ostrich—El Rogr—Tibib—El Hage—Graab el Sahara—Karaburno—Burourou—BOTANY—List of Plants—Hashisha—Euphorbium—Silphium—Medicinal Qualities—Opinions of Della Cella and Beechey—Reflections.

THE scientific world are indebted to the recent successes of the French arms in Northern Africa for some valuable additions to the knowledge of nature in that interesting portion of the globe. The travels of Dr Shaw supplied the first collection of facts, on which any reliance could be placed, relative to the minerals, animals, and plants of the Barbary States; and had he possessed a more intimate acquaintance with geology, his work would probably have presented so complete a record of physical phenomena as to have left nothing to be

accomplished by subsequent writers. It is in respect to this latter department that we are under the greatest obligations to the labours of M. Rozet, the author to whose description of Algiers we have already drawn the attention of the reader.

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## SECTION I.—GEOLOGY.

There appear, between the 28th and the 36th degrees of north latitude,—the limits to which our observations are meant to be confined,—two separate groups of mountains, which are usually distinguished by the names of the Great and the Little Atlas. The former, though it has not been minutely examined by the eye of science, both from its height and external aspect, may be confidently pronounced to belong to the primitive formation. We are, indeed, assured on a good authority, that the central and higher chains are composed of granite, gneiss, mica-slate, and clay-slate, while the inferior ranges exhibit layers of secondary limestone and sandstone. These deposites abound in organic remains, shells, corals, and even fishes, and are accordingly said to be referable to the calcareous strata of the secondary class, extending from the *lias*, or even the *magnesian limestone*, to chalk inclusive. Resting upon these last, again, are various of the tertiary rocks, among which, at sundry points, are found gypsum and salt-springs. It is added, that the secondary and tertiary formations are, in numerous places, disturbed and upraised by trap-rocks of comparatively modern date.*

The description now given applies to the whole

* Article by Professor Jameson, in Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography, p. 1196.

country, northwards of the Atlas, and agrees in substance with the minuter details furnished by the French engineer. We cannot, however, refrain from observing, that no information is any where conveyed as to the termination, on the east or the south, of that lofty mass to which our inquiries are now directed. It has been sometimes supposed that the alpine range, of which the towering summits are seen from Morocco, extends to the banks of the Nile; or, at least, droops into the Desert near the site of the celebrated Ammonium, at no great distance from the territory of Barca. Others have been willing to trace the continuity of this formation to the neighbourhood of Syene, where mountains of a kindred origin flank the course of the river, and stretch towards the centre of the continent. But it must be admitted, that there is no good ground for either of these conjectures. Della Cella is decidedly of opinion, that the hills of the Cyrenaica are not a prolongation of that magnificent chain which rises upon the northern border of the African coast, and extends, in the manner already described, from the Great Syrtis as far as the kingdom of Morocco. This, he acknowledges, does not prevent the calcareous constitution of Mount Atlas from forming also the character of the Cyrenean mountains. The hills between Tunis and Algiers are, for the most part, composed of limestone, and are full of shells; and such is the character of the eminences observed by Hornemann in the tract beyond the Barcean Wilderness. But the long space, beginning at these heights and terminating at the granitic mountains on the Nile, whence the Egyptians and Romans drew the enor-

mous stones which they employed in adorning their public edifices, is covered with a level ocean of sand. It appears, therefore, that the system of rocks, to which the ridges of the Cyrenaica belong, has no immediate connexion with the Atlas, properly so called, but rather with that smaller group, denominated the Little Atlas, which, rising to a considerable elevation in some parts of the Algerine and Tunisian States, attains a still nobler altitude in the country of the ancient Pentapolis, and at length finally declines in the Catabathmos towards the land of Egypt. It is also manifest, that the bases of the mountains on this part of the Mediterranean coast are covered, upon their northern borders, with a marine alluvial soil, sometimes decomposed and sandy, and sometimes conglomerated in crusts of different degrees of thickness.*

The mention of the Desert cannot fail to remind the reader, that the consideration of its flat and dreary waste suggests one of the most difficult problems in geology. The numerous relics of organized bodies which must have been produced in the sea, mixed with the remains of forests which probably at one time adorned a variety of hills and valleys now obliterated by sand, seem to afford evidence that the present aspect of Central Africa is not the original one, but ought to be ascribed to some dreadful catastrophe, of which it perpetuates the effects. "Africa," says a late traveller, "has evidently been washed across." It is therefore, he presumes, reasonable to conclude, that the weary plains in the interior, south of the Atlantic range, may have been thus overwhelmed, and that a submerged country,

* Narrative, p. 166.

once fertilized by the streams which descend from the southern skirts of Atlas, is now covered by sand possessing a depth not to be ascertained.*

But, leaving these general reflections, which partake too much of conjecture to recommend to our belief any inferences founded upon them, we proceed to give an outline of the geological structure of those sections of the country which have been actually examined. We find, then, that the following formations have been distinctly ascertained: the transition; the secondary; the tertiary; the volcanic; the alluvial or diluvian; to which may be added those minor results springing from causes still in operation, as connected with the agency of the sea, rivers, and the action of the atmosphere.

1. The transition-rocks are observed on the shore near Algiers, where the tertiary lime and sand stone are seen reposing on talc-slate, similar to that which is found on the coast of France, in the neighbourhood of Toulon. This slate forms the principal mass of the mountain called Bou Zaria, and of the hill on which the capital is built, extending as far as Cape Matafuz. It presents itself in strata very much inclined to the horizon and dipping towards the south, but never in beds; and in some parts it is seen passing into a well-characterized mica-schist; while in others the felspar predominates so entirely as to give rise to a distinct species of gneiss. There are also certain strata of limestone subordinate to the slate, having a gray colour and a saccharoid appearance. This rock often becomes schistose, and then it passes by an easy change into slate. Throughout these compound masses are dis-

* Keatinge's Travels in Africa, vol. i. p. 215.

covered veins of quartz, portions of iron-pyrites, and lead-glance. At Cape Matafuz, where the talc-slate passes into mica-slate, there are still beds of limestone placed at a great inclination, denoting the extent of the power by which they have been elevated from their horizontal posture.

On the same line of coast, the talc-schist, by insensible degrees, passes into a brown mica-slate containing thin layers of white felspar, some of which, by an additional quantity of mica, become gneiss,—a result which is also produced when the mica-slate, in its turn, combines with felspar. Thus, gneiss appears in a variety of instances as the principal member of the formation, being distinguished by an excess of felspar, usually white and of a large leaf or lamina. The stratification is very irregular, and presents unequivocal marks of a violent action, occasioned, it is probable, by the insertion of some subordinate rocks. It is not particularly rich in the mineral species which are diffused in it; the chief of which are white and smoke-coloured quartz, pure felspar, crystals of tourmaline, and some fine specimens of white mica. The gneiss does not afford any traces of organic remains; and it is remarked that, though the mountains composed of it are less elevated than those of slate, the form of both is almost entirely the same.

2. The secondary formation in the Algerine territory seems to reduce itself chiefly to what is called the lias member, comprehending limestone-shales, marlstones, and some sandstones, which occur along with them. The marls are sometimes very bituminous, and contain beds of lignite or brown coal, and also fossil-shells, and occasionally beds of

gypsum, fossil-wood, with siliceous impressions of ferns, cycadaceæ, and fuci. The animal-remains are numerous and interesting, comprising bones and skeletons of extinct tribes, such as the genera geosaurus, ichthyosaurus, and plesiosaurus. In particular, the lias contains an immense quantity of fossil-shells, of which the predominating one is the *Gryphæa arcuata;* and hence the marlstones of this formation have occasionally been named gryphite limestones.*

The Little Atlas, which is said to extend six hundred miles in length and about eight in breadth, is described as consisting principally of slaty marl, alternating with strata of calcareous matter. The former, which appears to prevail, is quite the same as that found in the lias-beds of Europe, and is associated with calcareous sandstone, and sometimes with a whitish rock, extremely hard, styled a calcariferous silex. In the Mountains of Beni Sala these marls are intersected by veins of white quartz; and near the summit they are seen gradually becoming harder, till they pass into a slate resembling that of the transition series, and which no longer effervesces in nitric acid. The organic remains are not so abundant in the African as in the European lias; the specimens mentioned by M. Rozet not exceeding some fragments of oysters, some pectenes, belemnites, a small ammonite, but not a single vegetable impression. Copper appears in considerable quantities, and might in some places be wrought to advantage; but no attempt towards such an object could be made in the midst of a desert country, and exposed to the continued

* Jameson, in Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography, 223.

assault of the most cruel and faithless hordes on the face of the earth.

3. In regular succession, the tertiary rocks rest upon the chalk or uppermost member of the secondary class; and though, generally speaking, they are looser in texture than the foregoing, they are, in some cases, not less compact. They abound in fossil remains of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, of which the genera are commonly the same with those now in existence, though many of the species are different. In this division of the mineral world are included some clays, calcareous sandstones, and trap-rocks, such as porphyry, dolerite, greenstone, and basalt. To these may be added, as it respects Africa, beds of sand more or less impregnated with iron, and which alternate with sandstone, or a ferrugineous limestone, known to the French as "calcaire grossier," and in England by the familiar appellation of London-clay. In the vicinity of the Little Atlas this aggregation of beds rests upon a blue marl a little paler than that which belongs to the lias formation. On the southern side of the range, especially, there appears an immense group of hills, extending to a great distance in all directions, and some of them rising nearly to the height of 5000 feet above the level of the sea; all of which are composed of the rocks now described, constituting a formation quite similar to that found in Italy on either declivity of the Apennines.

The blue marl is covered by a great depth of calcareous sandstone, as also of London-clay with corals, alternating with sand, both yellow and red. The sandstone also, when much impregnated with iron, assumes the same colour. The beds which

compose it incline to the north at an angle which never exceeds 20°; they are even sometimes quite horizontal. This tertiary formation contains an immense quantity of large oysters,—ostria elongata,—entirely identical with those which are found in the corresponding position in Provence and Italy. No fragment, however, has been discovered of the bones of fish or quadrupeds. The limestone, which is frequently compact, presents in its composition a great number of corals, as is the case in Austria and Hungary. The oysters lie in the mass of sandstone, but more particularly in the sand itself, which is interposed between the beds. They are found grouped together, several in one place, and most of them retain their two valves or shells,—a proof that they are still in the place in which they were when alive, however distant the period.

All the country that the French army have hitherto passed over southward of the Little Atlas, consists of this tertiary formation; and, in judging by analogy from the form of the hills as they appeared to the eye at a distance, it was concluded that the same rocks prevail to a great extent, both towards the east and the west, comprehending all the basins invested by the several chains of mountains to the border of the Sahara. The sands of that desert, it is conjectured by M. Rozet, are nothing different from the sand which is sometimes found in the higher parts of this formation, and beneath which the sandstone and lime exist in horizontal beds covering the blue marl. Hence, it is not improbable, that a similar succession obtains throughout the whole of the dreary waste which separates Barbary from the regions of the Senegal and Niger.

It is a little remarkable that though the rocks which skirt the northern edge of the great plain of the Metijah are the same, and arranged in the same order with those on the south side of the Little Atlas, the inclination as well as the fossil-remains are different. These last are much more abundant in the hills near the coast, and the shell-fish are often seen distinguished by families; consisting usually of the pectenes, the gryphites,—ostria navicularis,—large oysters, but very different from those of the southern range, terebratuli, echinites, and several polypi.

4. Of volcanic rocks there is no trace in all the portion of the Minor Atlas visited by the enterprising Frenchman, nor in any part of the great plain already so often mentioned. It was only at Cape Matafuz, in the neighbourhood of the fort, that trachyte was observed as having issued from under the tertiary formation. A very curious fact was also witnessed in the same place. All the beds of limestone which repose upon the blue marl are perfectly horizontal; but at the place where the porphyry has forced its way through the strata there is a depression, and the beds are there found inclined to the horizon at an angle of from 15° to 20°. The trachyte of Matafuz is a petro-siliceous rock, enclosing small crystals of white felspar, with minute plates of brown mica, and we need not add that it belongs to the family of the porphyries. Small fragments of porous lava were picked up, but could not be traced to their site.' There is hardly any doubt that basaltic formations will be detected at no great distance from the spot, so soon as the zeal of science can be separated with impunity from the vigilance of military life, and the student of nature can venture to go

abroad without the protection of a regular escort carrying ball-cartridge.

5. The diluvian formation, as the phrase is used by French authors, seems to denote those changes on the face of the earth produced by a great rush of waters, whether that recorded in Sacred Writ, or any subsequent flood which may have since affected particular localities. The whole soil of the plain of Metijah is said to consist of alluvial matter, usually displayed in horizontal beds of an argillaceous marl, and of rolled pebbles, greatly water-worn, but among which are never found large blocks of stone. Every where are seen the deserted beds of spacious rivers, the steep banks of which afford a good opportunity for studying the geognostic constitution of the country. Copious streams must formerly have flowed along these channels, and given to the adjoining districts the geological character they still retain. The nature of the marl, it is observed, is nearly the same throughout, but that of the pebbles often changes both in quality and magnitude. Near the foot of the mountains, the hollows, once occupied by torrents, display large masses of quartz, black and gray limestone, and numerous portions of slate, which must have been brought down by the weight of water acting on the declivities.

The bed of vegetable earth, still in many places several feet thick, is always composed of the alluvial marl, which is compact in its structure, and not easily penetrated by water; and hence the origin of the springs and rivulets that are occasionally observed while crossing the plain. The level of the ground, too, is perceived to rise gradually as the traveller approaches the Atlas. At Mazafran the soil is only

seventy feet above the sea, whereas fifteen miles farther south, it has attained the elevation of 520 feet. We have observed, in the works of Della Cella and M. Rozet, mention made of red marl and red sand, especially in the vicinity of the coast. The former collected a quantity near Apollonia, the singular colour of which, after a close examination, he found to proceed from a very minute species of coral, dispersed among the sand in such abundance as to constitute about one-third of its bulk. Having put half an ounce of it into nitric acid, it almost entirely disappeared; differing in this respect from the common sand of the Desert, which was not acted upon by that liquid in the slightest degree. It is not improbable that the red marl at Algiers may have acquired its colour in a similar way.—Small beds of travertin were seen on the sides of the mountains near the sea, evidently formed by filtration from the superior strata.

6. We find, moreover, a *postdiluvian* formation recorded by the staff-officer, and which is meant to comprehend those changes that are brought to pass by existing causes; namely, the action of the wind in raising mounds of sand along the shore; the formation of new land at the mouths of rivers; the disemboguement of lakes; and the disintegration of rocks. But the country has not yet been subjected to an examination sufficiently minute to justify any conclusions as to any recent modification of its surface in the respects now mentioned.

M. Rozet sees reason to believe that all the igneous rocks he has described, the granites, porphyries, and dolomites, are posterior to the tertiary formation,—a fact not quite so well confirmed as its im-

portance, viewed in a geological sense, would require. He expresses, too, a degree of astonishment with which few of his readers will sympathize, at finding near Oran dolerites,—a compound of augite and felspar,—where he expected porphyry. As both, according to the received system of geology, are of Plutonian origin, it is clearly impossible to determine, in any particular case, which of the two is the more likely to present itself, as the agent employed by nature to elevate the superincumbent strata.*

The knowledge we now possess of the mineralogical structure of Northern Africa, limited and imperfect as it unquestionably is, affords another proof of the universal as well as the uniform operation of those laws under which the crust of the earth has assumed its present appearance. The shore at Algiers, the heights of the Minor Atlas, the plain of Metijah, and the Cyrenean hills, exhibit the same phenomena to which the eye of the geologist has been long accustomed in the best-known countries of Europe. In fact, there is a great resemblance between the districts now occupied by the French,—especially if restricted to the tertiary formation,—and the lands in the neighbourhood of Paris and London. It is, indeed, a remark as old as the days of Dr Shaw, that the stone used in the ancient edifices of Julia Cæsarea, Sitifi, Cirta, and Carthage, was not much different either in texture or colour from the Heddington stone in the vicinity of Oxford,—a mixture of calcareous and siliceous substances, which, in some cases, approaches to marl, and even to chalk.†

We learn from the same author, that near Algiers

* Voyage dans la Régence d'Alger, tome i. p. 21-76.

† Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 279.

and Bona, the schistose talc lies immediately upon the surface, and is often very beautifully gilded with gold-like mica, while the sparry matter which fills up the fissures glitters with spangles imitating silver. Della Cella observed a similar appearance in the eastern parts of the Tripoline territory, occasioned by a combination of iron-pyrites with mica, talc, and crystallized limestone.

As to metals, iron and lead are the only ones that have been hitherto discovered, if we except the supposed mines of gold and silver in the empire of Morocco. The iron is said to be good, though not abundant, and being wrought by the Kabyles in the mountainous districts of Bujeya, was wont to be conveyed to Algiers in small short bars. The lead-ores are in general very rich; and, provided the works were under a better regulation, they would produce a great quantity of metal. We have already suggested, that in the hilly parts of the country there are very distinct indications of copper,—a commodity which is highly prized in the regency of Algiers, and will one day, there can be no doubt, prove to it a source of much wealth.

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## SECTION II.—ZOOLOGY.

It was a maxim among the ancients, originating in their ignorance of nature, and perpetuated by their belief in spontaneous generation, that "Africa was always producing some new monster." But a closer survey has proved, that the southern shores of the Mediterranean exhibit no living creatures which may not be found in every other part of the world where there are the same qualities of soil and climate.

The naturalist who proceeds systematically would arrange his observations under separate heads, beginning with the simplest conformations, and advancing gradually to those which are more complex. At the opening of his path he would find zoophytes, mollusca, including cephalopodes, and other species; after which he would direct his attention to fishes, to frogs, to reptiles, to the crustacea, or land-crabs and turtles, and finally to insects. Having afterwards exhausted ornithology, he would in due time arrive at the Mammalia,—a class which embraces nearly all descriptions of quadrupeds, and even man himself, the lord of this province of the visible creation.

But our scheme is much more limited, extending no farther than is implied in the desire to lay before our readers such a view as may prove intelligible to them all, of the several animals which are either peculiar to Africa, or appear in that region invested with qualities not common elsewhere. Not finding, for example, that the zoophytes, the mollusca, or the crustacea of the Barbary States, are in any material respects different from those which occur in every kingdom of Europe, we shall refrain from copying long lists of names descriptive of species belonging to every continent, and possessing no interest except in the estimation of a scientific zoologist.

Africa has long been celebrated for scorpions and serpents; and although none are now to be found so extremely formidable as that enormous specimen which impeded the progress of a Roman army, there are some sufficiently large and destructive to inspire a great degree of terror. Of the latter there are only two species understood to be very venomous; the one of a black colour, about seven or eight feet long, with

a little head, which it expands frequently to four times its ordinary size when about to attack any object. This serpent is called *bûska*, and is the only one that will assail a passenger unprovoked; in doing which it coils itself up, and darts to a great distance by the elasticity of its body and tail. The wound inflicted by the bite is small; but the surrounding part immediately turns black, and the sufferer expires in a very short time. *El effah* is the name of the other serpent, remarkable also for its quick and penetrating poison. It is about two feet long, and as thick as a man's arm, beautifully spotted with yellow and brown, and sprinkled all over with black specks, similar to the horn-nosed snake. In the desert of Suz, their holes are so numerous, that it is difficult for a horse to pass over them without stumbling.

But the *boah*, or snake of the Sahara, is the most enormous of these monsters, being from twenty to eighty feet long, and as thick as a man's body. It is not strictly poisonous, though in its ravages it is not less destructive to the other inhabitants of the waste. So swift is its motion, that the Arab describes it as setting fire to the Desert by the extreme velocity of its course; and hence there is no possibility of escaping. It will twist itself round an ox, crush the bones, and swallow it gradually; after which it lies torpid on the ground several days, unable to proceed until the process of digestion be completed. A few years ago, two of these reptiles stationed themselves near the road from Morocco to Terodant; one of them was killed, the other remained there several days, and prevented travellers from passing forward. As neither was more than

twenty feet in length, it was concluded that they were both young.

Most of the other serpents are harmless, and may be tamed; and in some towns there are few houses without one, which may be seen moving along the roof of the apartment. They are never molested by the family, who would not hurt them on any consideration, believing that they bring a blessing on the household. On their part, too, they are extremely susceptible of offence, and alive to the slightest appearance of injury; on which account, it is thought imprudent to incur their displeasure.

The scorpion abounds very much in some parts of Barbary, particularly among stones and old houses. It is generally about two inches in length, and in its colour varies from yellow to brown, and even to black. The wound inflicted by it is followed by a feeling of intense cold, and very often terminates in death. During the summer, we are informed, the city of Morocco is so infested with this venomous reptile, that it is not uncommon to find them in the beds. As the flesh of the creature itself, applied to the part of the body which has been stung, effects a certain cure, most families keep a bottle of scorpions infused in olive-oil; it being ascertained that a dead one is not less efficacious as a remedy, than if the individual which had inflicted the wound were itself killed and used for the purpose.

There is no country in the world which suffers more than Northern Africa from the desolation committed by the locust. The production of this winged plague is one of the secrets of nature; for after an interval of many years, during which it is not seen, it issues from the Desert in such numbers, as not

only to destroy all the fruits of the earth, but even to cover the surface of the ground. In Barbary they are always observed to come from the south, the direction of the Sahara, whereas in Palestine they proceed from the east,—a fact which establishes their origin in connexion with the Wilderness, the vast expanse of sandy waste which constitutes the boundary of both regions. They are understood to have a government among themselves similar to the ants and bees; and when the Sultan Jeraad, or King of the Locusts, rises into the air, the whole body follow him; and in their course they proceed as regularly as a disciplined army on its march, nor is a single one seen either remaining behind or going a different way from the rest. When young this insect is green, but as it grows it assumes first a yellow colour, and then becomes black. The sultan is said to be larger and more beautifully coloured than the rest, though it is not easy to procure a sight of him.

At certain seasons the locust is esteemed a great delicacy, and dishes of them are generally served up at the repasts of the principal families. The usual mode of cooking is to boil them in water half an hour, then sprinkle them with salt and pepper, and fry them, adding a little vinegar: the head, legs, and wings are thrown away, the rest of the body is eaten, and resembles the taste of prawns.

Of quadrupeds, we shall only mention a few of the more striking; purposely omitting those which are common to the different parts of Africa, such as the red fox, the hyena, the gazelle, the horse, and the camel.

The *horreh* is greatly esteemed among the Arabs for its beauty and cleanliness, and is accounted the

prince of animals. It is an inhabitant of the Sahara, and is never found to the north of the river Suz. In form and size, it is somewhat similar to the gazelle; the colour of its back and head is of a light red, inclining to that of a fawn; while the belly is of a white so beautiful and delicate, that its brilliancy affects the eyes in a manner bearing some resemblance to the sensation produced in them by looking steadfastly at fine scarlet. According to the belief of the natives, it never lies down lest it should impair the splendour of its fur, of the elegance of which it appears fully conscious; and as it is held the emblem of purity, its skin is preferred by the rich to all other substances when used as a cushion or mat on which to prostrate themselves at prayer.

The *aoudad* is an animal which is never found except among the cliffs or forests of Mount Atlas, southwards of Morocco and the Lower Suz. It sometimes, indeed, descends to the rivers to drink, where it is seen throwing itself from lofty precipices into the plain below, when it generally alights on its horns or shoulders. None of them have ever been taken alive, being so very wild that it is not possible to approach them without great danger. In size and colour it is not unlike a calf, but has a beautiful long mane or beard flowing from the lower part of the neck; it has strong teeth, and curved horns about twelve inches in length.

The *nimmer* is closely related to the leopard; being spotted rather than striped, and in size resembles the royal tiger of Asia. It is remarkable for strength and agility; putting to a severe task all the ingenuity and courage of the African hunters. When roused to anger, he is considered more dan-

gerous than the lion; because he is not only more active, but climbs trees after his assailants, and scales the walls which they may have ascended.

The *sibsib* appears to be of an intermediate species between the rat and the squirrel, being somewhat similar to the ichneumon in form, though not half its size. It inhabits the Atlas, and lives in holes among the stones and caverns of the mountains: it has brown hair, and a beautiful tail about the length of its whole body. The Arabs eat this animal, and consider it a delicacy, notwithstanding the prohibition of their prophet, who forbade the use of such quadrupeds as burrow under ground. The sibsib is seldom seen northwards of the province of Suz, but it abounds in all the mountains of that district.*

The *heirie, erragnol,* or desert-camel, is an animal which must not be omitted in our zoological outline. In form, it bears a strong resemblance to the common camel, but is more elegant in its shape and incomparably swifter. The Arab mounted upon this useful creature, with his loins, ears, and breast bound round, in order to prevent the fatal effects which result from a violent percussion of the air, traverses with immense rapidity the scorching sands of the Great Sahara, the fiery atmosphere of which impedes respiration to a degree that would instantly kill any other rider. The motion of the erragnol is violent, and can only be endured by those patient, abstemious, and hardy individuals who are accustomed to it, and who can travel three days without tasting food, or not more than a handful of dates. When speaking of this fleet courser,

* An Account of the Empire of Morocco, by James Grey Jackson, Esq. p. 31-37.

the natives remark in their figurative style, "If thou shalt meet a heirie, and say to the rider *Salam alec*, ere he shall have answered *Alec salam*, he will be far off; and nearly out of sight, for his swiftness is like the wind."

Of this singular species of the camel there are three varieties, easily distinguished by the natives of the African Wilderness. The first, which is extremely rare, is denominated *tasayee*, or the heirie of nine days; that is, he can perform a nine days' journey in one. The second is the *sabayee*, which in one day can go the usual distance of seven; and the third, or most inferior, is the *talatayee*, whose speed is limited to a three days' journey. This valuable and useful animal, we are informed, has a ring put through its upper-lip, to which is fixed a leathern strap, answering the purpose of a bridle; the saddle is similar to that used by the Moors and the mountaineers of Andalusia. With a goat-skin, or a porous earthen vessel, filled with water, a few dates, and some ground barley, the Arab travels from Timbuctoo to Tafilet, feeding his heirie but once; for on an emergency this powerful quadruped will abstain from drinking during the long space of seven days.*

The *shruabah ereeh*, or desert-horse, has also some remarkable qualities, and partakes to a certain extent of the constitution belonging to the wonderful creature now described. As, however, he requires a feed of camel's milk every day, he is not so well fitted for the fatigues of the Sahara, where such an accommodation cannot always be procured. If con-

* Jackson's Morocco, p. 40. The heirie is by Dr Shaw called maihary or ashhary, vol. i. p. 396.

fined to corn, hay, or straw, he loses at once his beauty and his swiftness, and not unfrequently pines away. The ereeh resembles a greyhound in form, having a slender body, a powerful broad chest, and small legs; and his principal use in the hands of an Arab is to hunt the ostrich, at which he is said to be very expert.*

In the department of birds there is no great variety in the Barbary States, as distinguished from other parts of the same continent. The ostrich, the eagle, the vulture, and the stork, are found here in great perfection, more especially in the neighbourhood of the Atlas, where the monarch of winged creatures enjoys his throne in the utmost security. Of the stork, the general colour is white, the extremities of the wings being tipped with black, and the height from the toe to the bill nearly three feet. During the summer, the old towns of West Barbary are frequented by these birds, which usually go in pairs; they are migratory, and when they do not return to their wonted haunts at the accustomed season, it is considered by the inhabitants as ominous of evil. Any person who should presume to shoot this sacred visiter would incur the resentment of the whole city, and be accounted a sacrilegious infidel; for besides being of the greatest utility in destroying serpents and other noxious reptiles, they are also emblematical of faith and conjugal affection, and, on that account, held in the highest estimation by all true Mussulmans.

There is a bird, by the natives called *el rogr*,

* Jackson, p. 42. We purposely abstain from a description of the quadrupeds and birds common to the Barbary States with the other parts of Africa, referring the reader to the fuller notices contained in our volumes on Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia.

which in form is not unlike the English partridge, though its plumage is much darker. It is found only in dry stony places, and seems to feed on the stunted shrubs with which such rocky parts are usually covered; basking in the solar rays with every appearance of delight, and only rising on the wing at noon and sunset, when it flies to the nearest river to quench its thirst. This variety is altogether unknown in Europe.

The *tibib*, which resembles the sparrow, is very common in Barbary, and visits the houses every morning without the slightest symptom of fear. It was originally an inhabitant of the Atlas, whence it was brought by an English merchant to Mogadore, where the breed has continued ever since.

*El hage*, not so large as a blackbird, and of a grayish colour, lives upon beetles and other insects of a similar nature, which he never eats till they begin to putrefy. He frequents thorny bushes, on the upper spikes of which he sticks his little victims, where they are allowed to remain till by their scent they show proofs of incipient decay, and invite him to a repast. He has obtained his name, el hage or hajji, from the circumstance, that numbers of them are seen accompanying the caravans to Mecca; and hence the reverence and even superstition with which he is regarded by the more ardent disciples of the prophet.

Dr Shaw mentions the *graab el Sahara*, or crow of the Desert, which is somewhat larger than the common raven; and from the redness of the feet and bill may be identified with the pyrocorax. The *kára-burno* is of the eagle-kind, and not smaller than our buzzard; having a black bill, red iris, yellow

short feet, the back of a gray or light-blue colour, the pinions of the wings black, and the tail whitish. The *burourou*, one of the largest species of horned-owls, is spotted like the Norwegian. It generally frequents the Sahara; and when it appears to the northward among the towns and villages it is fancied to portend some direful calamity, a famine, or a pestilential distemper.*

SECTION III.—BOTANY.

On this subject there is a valuable fund of information, though interesting chiefly to a professional botanist, to be obtained in the "Flora Atlantica" of the celebrated Desfontaines. We learn also from Rozet, that the members of the vegetable kingdom, which occupy the plain between the coast and the range of the Little Atlas, are absolutely the same as those most common on the northern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, the borders of Spain, Provence, Italy, the Archipelago, and Syria. The trees and plants which adorn the fields in the temperate latitudes of Europe, are also seen in the gardens of Algiers, Bleeda, and Colea. In the neighbourhood of the capital were observed the following, most of which are familiar to the students of France, and even of England:—Fumaria Officinalis; Melilotus Officinalis; Mimosa Farnesiana; Sanguisorba Officinalis; Mespylus Oxyacantha; Scabiosa Arvensis; Senecio Vulgaris; Convolvulus Arvensis; Borago Officinalis; Solanum Nigrum; Solanum Dulcamara; Lamium Album; Marrubium Vulgare; Mentha Pulegium; Anagallis Arvensis; Plantago

* Shaw's Travels, vol. i. p. 332.

Coronopus; Plantago Media; Rumex Acetosella; Urtica Urens; Salix Alba; Salix Babylonica, &c.

The following are peculiar to the Barbary States, and are not found even in the southern parts of Europe. M. Rozet discovered them chiefly on the hills near Algiers, in the plain of the Metijah, and in the vicinity of Oran:—Condylocarpus Muricatus; Cleome Arabica; Cistus Heterophyllus, Cistus Arabicus; Malva Ægyptiaca; Genista Tricuspidata; Phaca Bœtica; Pyrus Japonica; Sanguisorba Mauritanica; Passiflora Cærulea; Sempervivum Arboreum; Ferula Sulcata; Laserpitium Gummiferum; Sium Siculum; Apium Graveolens; Cachrys Tomentosa, Cachrys Peucedanoides; Zacintha Verrucosa; Carduus Giganteus; Atrachylis Gummifera; Artemisia Arboria; Cynara Carduncellus; Erica Arboria; Lithospermum Fruticosum; Datura Ferox; Physalis Somnifera; Scrophularia Auriculata; Thymus Numidicus; Rumex Tingitanus; Aristolochia Bœtica; Euphorbia Mauritanica; Pinus Alba; Iris Florentina; Allium Roseum; Ornithogalum Arabicum; Narcissus Tazetta; Scilla Maritima; Arundo Donax; Arundo Mauritanica, &c.*

Among the more familiar plants, prized in Northern Africa, are the takanareete, the hashisha, the dergmuse, or euphorbium, and the celebrated silphium, so long an article of commerce.

The first, which is properly the *cactus-opuntia*, is occasionally known as the Indian-fig, or prickly-pear. The tree which produces it grows from ten to twenty feet in height: its leaves, from the sides of which the fruit springs, are thick and succulent,

* Voyage dans la Régence d'Alger, tome i. pp. 180, 181.

and impregnated with a mucilaginous juice, so peculiarly cooling as to be used with gum-ammonica in cases of inflammation. When ripe, the fig, or pear, is of an oval form, with a colour inclining to yellow, and is chiefly valued for its effect in restoring the power of the digestive organs when deranged by the heat of the climate.

The *hashisha*, or African hemp-plant, is very generally cultivated in the western parts of the Barbary States, not so much for its use in the manufacture of cordage, as for those qualities in which it resembles opium. The leaves, but more especially the seeds and flowers, called kief, are smoked by the natives, who are said to derive from it an oblivion of all their cares, and the most delightful excitement of the imagination. Those who have been long accustomed to its use cannot exist without it. The kief is usually pounded and mixed with a confection, called "elmogin," which is sold at an exorbitant price. A piece of it as large as a walnut will deprive a man of all the ordinary powers of reason, and is much preferred to opium from the voluptuous sensations which it never fails to produce. Wine or brandy, they maintain, cannot stand in competition with it. The leaves are dried and cut like tobacco, with which they are smoked in very small pipes; but when an individual wishes to indulge in the sensual stupor it occasions, he smokes the hashisha pure, and in less than half an hour he fancies himself an emperor and master of the whole world, of all its wealth, and its pleasures.

Euphorbium, called furbiune by the Arabs, is a gum produced by a very succulent plant growing on the Atlas Mountains, and known in the country by

the name of dergmuse. In its general form it resembles a large goblet, and is somewhat like a wild thistle. From the main body of the stem proceed several leafless branches, about an inch in diameter, from the top of which shoot out similar ones, each bearing on its summit a vivid crimson flower. These branches are scolloped, and have on their outer sides small knots, from which grow five extremely sharp thorns, about one-third of an inch in length, apparently intended by nature to prevent cattle from eating this caustic plant, so perilous to animal life. When it assumes this aspect it may be considered mature; upon which the natives dwelling in the lower parts of the Atlas make incisions in it with a knife. From these the juice issues in considerable quantities, and after being dried by the sun, contracts a yellowish colour, and is fit for being gathered in the shape of euphorbium,—a medicinal drug of the very highest power. The plant produces only once in four years; but the supply notwithstanding is fully equal to the demand; the cathartic quality being rather too vigorous for European practice. The persons who collect this gum are obliged to tie a cloth over their mouth and nostrils, to prevent the small particles from annoying them by entering the brain or stomach.

We are informed that the bark of the dergmuse is greatly valued by tanners, and that to its singular effects the leather of Morocco owes its chief pre-eminence. Various attempts have been made to transplant it to the neighbourhood of the capital, but hitherto, owing to some difference in the soil or climate, without any degree of success. It grows most luxuriantly in mountainous situations, interspersed

with rocks, and where the interstices are filled with a black loam chiefly formed of decomposed vegetables.*

The *silphium*, well known to the botanists and epicures of antiquity, is only to be found in the eastern parts of the Tripoline dominions, where also it is fast becoming extremely scarce, owing to the pains taken by the Bedouins to extirpate it, under the impression that it is hurtful to their cattle. In fact, it is believed by some writers to have entirely disappeared, while others see good reason to identify it with the spaghe, a weed which causes a great mortality among camels. According to Theophrastus, the silphium has a thick fleshy root, perennial and medicinal: its stem is formed like that of the papyrus and the ferula, equalling this last in thickness; while its leaves resemble those of the selinum or Macedonian parsley. It is found, he adds, at Cyrene, and principally in the environs of the Syrtis, near the Gardens of the Hesperides.†

The medicinal qualities of this plant have been greatly extolled by Pliny, who states that the extract, called laser, usually brought its weight in silver, and was kept in the public treasury along with the precious metals. On one occasion, when Julius Cæsar was making preparations for war, it was sold for the service of the commonwealth, and considered a principal resource of the public revenue. It is certain, too, that all the ancients agreed in describing the Cyrenaica as the peculiar country of the silphium; and we learn also from the Greek naturalist, that it

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* Jackson's Morocco, p. 80.

† Histor. Plant. lib. iv. and lib. vi. *passim*, quoted by Della Cella, p. 120.

was inconceivably averse to every other soil, and could not be transplanted without the hazard of loss.*

In the work of Captain Beechey, the vegetable now mentioned is said to be about three feet in height, and to have a strong resemblance to the hemlock, or more properly perhaps to the daucas, or wild carrot. It appears to have been found in Asia, as well as in some parts of Europe; but that of Cyrene was the most esteemed, and constituted a valuable article of commerce. In the time of Pliny, it had become so scarce in the market, that a single stalk of it was given to the Emperor Nero, as a present suitable to a person of his rank. The extract and the stem or root,—the *laser* and *laserpitium* of the naturalist,—are mentioned in the bill of fare of the Persian monarchs, as given by Polynæus, and which was discovered by Alexander the Great, engraved on a brazen column in the royal palace. As to the appearance of the extract, we have no information; but the stem and the root seem to have been eaten much in the same way that we eat celery,—which, indeed, it very much resembles,—either stewed or boiled.†

We have already mentioned that the climate of Barbary is free from those extremes and sudden changes which characterize the atmospherical phenomena of Europe. The air is wholesome and temperate, neither too hot in summer nor too cold in winter; and the successive seasons fall so insensibly into one another, that the transition is not felt by the most delicate constitution. During twelve years that Dr Shaw spent in the country, the thermome-

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. p. 3. Narrative, p. 1[illegible]
† Proceedings of the Expedition, &c. p. 412-416.

ter only twice descended to the freezing-point; on both which occasions the hills were covered with snow; and the air was never sultry, except when the wind blew from the Desert. The barometer, again, amid all the revolutions of the weather, did not vary more than an inch and three-tenths; rising with the north wind, although there were heavy rains, and falling with the south, whatever might be the condition of the atmosphere as to moisture.

The average quantity of rain marked annually at Algiers is about 28 inches, beginning usually in autumn, and continuing at intervals till the month of May. Little or none is enjoyed during the summer; and in most parts of the Sahara, particularly in the Jerid, there is seldom any rain at all. These observations apply generally to the districts along the Mediterranean shore, but must be subjected to some modification when referred to the territories of Morocco, owing as well to the vicinity of the mountains as of the Atlantic Ocean, which washes its western border.*

* Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 244. Voyage dans la Régence d'Alger, tome i. p. 83-137.

# INDEX.

THE END.

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